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THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL PARK POLICY IN
CANADA'S MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARKS
1885 TO 1930

by



SYLVIA M. VAN KIRK

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL PARK POLICY IN CANADA'S MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARKS, 1885 to 1930 submitted by SYLVIA M. VAN KIRK in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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S.V.K.

ABSTRACT

An examination of the early history of Canada's mountain national parks, located in the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia, contributes to an understanding of the controversy surrounding our national park policy today. It is the purpose of this thesis to trace the evolution of national park policy as developed in the mountain parks from the creation of the first reserve around the Banff Hot Springs in 1885 to the passage of the National Parks Act in 1930 which not only climaxed the formative years but provided a foundation for future development.

Since 1930 the official policy of the National Parks Branch has increasingly emphasized the concept of the parks as preserves of the original Canadian landscape. As this study illustrates, however, original developers, principally the CPR, envisioned the parks as exclusive tourist resorts - concentration was on development and promotion rather than conservation and protection. Initially industrial activity was even allowed in the national parks.

The growth of modern national park concepts really began after 1911 with the creation of the National Parks Branch and the appointment of James B. Harkin as Commissioner

of Dominion Parks. Much influenced by the ideas of the conservation and recreation movements at their height during the first decade of the 20th century, Commissioner Harkin was to be largely responsible for the formation of national park policy for the next twenty-five years.

Harkin maintained that the main purpose of the national parks was to enable Canadians to enjoy the healthiest, most uplifting of all pastimes - recreation in the sublime setting of the mountain wilderness. To achieve this goal the preservation of the natural conditions of forest and wildlife was essential, the concept of the parks as reserves of "original Canada" receiving increasing emphasis. But Harkin also realized that the parks' tremendous commercial potential as prime tourist attractions formed one of the most forceful arguments for their existence: his objective was to produce "dividends in gold and human units."

Problems inherited from the earliest period of park development concerning federal administration of the town-sites, particularly the granting of long-term renewable leases which almost amounted to a freehold system, reduced the Government's efficiency in enacting its policy, however. In 1964 in an attempt to re-establish the exclusive control which had originally been intended, the Government announced the formulation of a new national park policy designed to

preserve the wilderness features of the national parks which are now threatened by over-use. The decision to cancel the perpetual clauses of the leases has proved extremely unpopular with park residents, however. How to preserve the national parks and still provide the facilities necessary to accommodate vast hordes of tourists is the dilemma which faces administrators today.

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INTRODUCTION

Of the nineteen reservations which today constitute Canada's National Parks system, seven are located in the scenic mountain region of Western Canada. The parks of Jasper, Banff and Waterton Lakes are situated along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains in the province of Alberta. The remaining parks lie in British Columbia, Yoho and Kootenay National Parks adjoining that of Banff on the western slope, while those of Glacier and Mount Revelstoke are located in the Selkirk Range.

The first national park to be established was Banff in 1885, originally only a small area around the hot springs; Kootenay National Park, created 1920 to protect the scenic beauty along the Banff-Windermere highway, was the last mountain region to be reserved. Besides being Canada's oldest national parks, her mountain reserves are also the most famous, their scenic wonders having achieved world-wide recognition. The distinguished English alpinist T.G. Longstaff declared in the early 1900's:

In no other mountain region of the globe do peak and cliff, snowfield and glacier, alpland and forest, lake, cataract and stream form such a perfect combination as is to be found, not in one, but in hundreds of places in these glorious ranges.

In view of the present controversy surrounding Canada's national parks policy, study of the early history of her

mountain parks assumes particular relevance. In attempting to develop a contemporary policy which will allow for maximum use of the parks, visited annually by millions of tourists, and yet assure the preservation of their wilderness qualities, park administrators are faced with several difficult problems such as the vexing leasing question which are remnants of an earlier period of park development when government policy was determined by different objectives. It is the purpose of this thesis to trace the evolution of national parks policy, as related to the mountain parks, from the creation of the first reserve in 1885 to the passage of The National Parks Act in 1930. This study does not pretend to offer any solution to the problems of modern national parks development, but a look at the formative years when the main principles of park policy were being developed provides insight into some of the current difficulties.

The discussion unavoidably centers on the development of Rocky Mountains Park, today known as Banff National Park. As the first national park to be established, it was by far the most extensively developed during this period and attracted the greatest number of visitors. Policies formulated for this park would later be applied to the others.

The initial chapter, a brief history of the mountain park regions, is intended to provide a base from which to trace the evolution of park policy. Although it is a rather nebulous task to account for the origins of the "National Parks Movement" in Canada, I have endeavoured to determine some of the events

and motives which led to the establishment of the first parks.

Following is an examination of the growth of the organizational and administrative structure of the parks system. At first small and decentralized, a landmark in the administration of the national parks was the formation of the National Parks Branch with headquarters at Ottawa in 1911. J.B. Harkin, the new Commissioner of Dominion Parks, was to be responsible for the development of national parks policy for the next twenty-five years. Originally, legislative and regulatory control over the national parks was vested in the Minister of the Interior, but this arrangement proved open to the abuses of political patronage and pressure. As a result, Parliament gradually assumed greater control which culminated in the Parks Act of 1930. The park regions were intended to be under the sole jurisdiction of the federal government, but various conflicts with areas of provincial jurisdiction arose which had not initially been anticipated.

Part of the current trouble has been caused because the concepts shaping national park policy have shifted in emphasis. At first, the concentration was on development and promotion rather than conservation and protection. The actual discussion of national parks policy is divided into four parts. The third chapter deals with general factors which influenced the development of Government policy. Important among these were the example of the American experience, the predominant role of the Canadian Pacific and other railway

companies, the rise of conservation and recreation movements during the first decade of the twentieth century, and the beginnings of the modern tourist industry with the advent of the motor car. The three main aspects of national park policy are then examined in more detail.

As much emphasis was placed on the commercial potential of the parks as prime tourist resorts, one of the main tenets of government policy was to render the parks attractive and accessible to tourists. But although the parks were publicly owned, it was not the Government's intention to undertake the sole responsibility for their development. Government activity was centered on the provision of basic works such as a comprehensive system of roads and trails, leaving the construction of accommodation and other tourist facilities to private enterprise subject to government regulation. However, there were certain problems inherent in the federal administration of townsites in the parks, particularly the leasing policy which had been modified to allow the retention of government control and yet attract substantial investment.

Initially, the Government permitted industrial developments within the parks which would be regarded as scandalous today. In several instances industrial activity such as mining and lumbering had already begun in areas later reserved for park purposes; such development, subject to government regulation, was not deemed irreconcilable with the development of the parks as pleasure resorts. As the concept of national

parks as areas of pristine wilderness gained increasing predominance, however, efforts were made to curtail and eliminate all industrial activity. The opposition of park officials to any encroachment upon the parks for industrial purposes was clearly illustrated during the Spray Lakes controversy of the 1920's.

In the initial period of park development, the preservation of forest and wildlife received little attention. Lack of funds prevented the enforcement of even the inadequate regulations which existed. But with the growth of the movement to conserve natural resources in North America during the early 1900's, the importance of such work was increasingly emphasized. After the establishment of the National Parks Branch in 1911, top priority was given to the inauguration of a truly effective system of forest and wildlife protection. The resulting diminution of forest fires and the noticeable increases in numerous species of wildlife occasioned much favourable comment. To preserve the natural flora and fauna of the mountain regions is perhaps the foremost principle of national parks policy today.

A number of photographs have been included at the back of the thesis which depict the mountain national parks during the period under discussion. These prints capture the atmosphere of less-hurried days much more effectively than could pages of detailed description. They also provide for interesting comparisons with present development.

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CANADA'S MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARKS

The concept of a national park originated in the United States. This idea of preserving wilderness areas, however, was the result of a gradual change in the American attitude toward their environment.¹ Initially the anti-wilderness tradition of Western thought, coupled with the stark realities of survival, fostered a hostile attitude--to conquer and subdue the wilderness was the pioneer's main concern.² So successful were the "civilizing" efforts of American settlers that by the early nineteenth century it began to be appreciated that wilderness areas were rapidly disappearing; at the same time, the flowering of the Romantic Movement with its deistic philosophy and glorification of the natural and the wild led to a new appreciation of wilderness. A vanguard of writers and artists such as Cooper, Thoreau and Parkman sought to educate the American public to the great aesthetic and cultural values of primitive America and the need for their preservation.

The first to actually propound the idea of a national park was Georges Catlin, the famous Indian artist. While on a visit to the Indian country of the Upper Missouri in 1832,

Catlin was moved to contemplate the regrettable probability that soon the vast herds of buffalo and the Indian way of life would vanish forever:

Many are the rudenesses and wilds in Nature's works which are destined to fall before the deadly axe and desolating hands of cultivating man.³

How splendid it would be, he thought, if the Government could be prompted to preserve this pristine beauty and wildness in a magnificent park:

...where the world could see for ages to come, the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse amid the fleeting herds of elks and buffalos. What a specimen for America to preserve for her refined citizens and the world in future ages. A nation's park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty. I would ask no other monument to my memory...than the reputation of having been the founder of such an institution.⁴

The same year, though for a different reason, Congress took its first actual step in this sphere of activity by reserving four sections of land around the hot springs in the Ouachita Mountains of Arkansas. Private enterprise had begun to appreciate the commercial potential of these springs, but public sentiment favoured a government reservation which would preserve them for posterity and remove the danger of private monopoly and exploitation.⁵ It was more than thirty years later, however, before another park reservation was made. In 1864, as the result of a public campaign initiated by a California publisher, the federal government granted the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees to the State of California "upon the express conditions that the

premises shall be held for public use, resort and recreation."⁶

While these reservations were important precedents, the first region to be specifically designated as a national park was the two million-acre reserve in northwestern Wyoming set aside by President Grant as Yellowstone National Park on March 1, 1872. Though few white men had actually visited the Yellowstone region in the early days, rumors of its remarkable scenery had spread far and eventually aroused official curiosity. Several government expeditions visited the area but the most significant was that of a group of prominent Montana citizens led by H.D. Washburn and Nathaniel P. Langford with a military escort commanded by Lt. G.C. Doane in 1870. Much impressed by the breath-taking scenery of Yellowstone, the party began to ponder the possibilities for its future. Most intended to file private claims around the geysers and other scenic attractions which were sure to attract a large tourist traffic, but Judge Cornelius Hedges had a different proposition:

This place is too big and too beautiful to belong to any private individual. It should be set aside by the government for the use and enjoyment of the people for all time as a National Park.⁷

This suggestion was favourably received, Hedges and Langford spearheading a movement to create popular support for the reservation. The publicized explorations of F.V. Hayden, accompanied by a noted landscape artist and a pioneer photographer, in 1871 excited considerable interest in the East which ultimately led to the passage of the park act. Yellow-

stone National Park was "dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasure ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."⁸ This action marked a dramatic departure from general American public land policy, embodying the new concept of the right of the people to share in the most scenic areas of their country.

In Canada, the creation of the first national parks contained obvious similarities to the early American experience. However, one of the first to advocate the creation of Canadian mountain parks placed a slightly different emphasis on their purpose. Sir Sandford Fleming, the British engineer who had surveyed the original route for the CPR via Edmonton and the Yellowhead pass, was so impressed by the magnificence of the Canadian Rockies on his trip across Canada in 1883 that he recommended that "the opportunity for establishing one or more national parks or domains should not be neglected."⁹ When rendered accessible by the railway and equipped with suitable comforts, he felt these areas would become world-famous health and recreation resorts. As a matter of national interest, the Government should undertake the gradual construction of basic necessities such as roads and bridle paths, but could expect full remuneration for its expenditures. Fleming's suggestions were also reflected in the subsequent development of the first national parks.

Initial Park Reservations

Canada's first national park was situated in the immediate vicinity of Banff in the Bow River valley along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. An area well known to the Cree and Stoney Indians, the first white man to visit the present site of Banff park was Sir George Simpson the governor of the Hudson Bay Company on his journey across the mountains in 1841. Father Pierre de Smet came over the White Man's Pass to the present site of Canmore in 1845, while in 1847 the Protestant missionary Robert Rundle camped at the foot of Cascade Mountain. In the late 1850's, James Hector of the Palliser Expedition visited the Banff area, noting the presence of warm mineral springs in his report. But although sporadic fur trading and prospecting were carried on in this region, it was not until the coming of the survey crews for the CPR in 1881 that any real development began. The first settlement in the Banff district was a tiny cluster of buildings around the railway depot known as Siding 29. The name was later changed to Banff to commemorate the birthplace of Lord Strathcona in Scotland.¹⁰

The first attempt at a park reserve was made late in the autumn of 1883 by William Van Horne, the dynamic general manager of the CPR. Captivated with the scenic beauty of Lac des Arcs (the present site of the Exshaw cement plant), he urged that it be reserved for park purposes. Although surveyors were sent out to define a reservation area, no further

progress was made. Indeed when Van Horne next visited the lake, climatic conditions were such that he regretted his suggestion; but for some years after, the place was jokingly referred to as "Van Horne's park."¹¹

It was the presence of the warm mineral springs which gushed from the side of Sulphur Mountain which led to the first actual park reservation. While it is impossible to ascertain who was really the original discoverer of the springs, one source claims they were discovered by the Davis survey party as the men were running a preliminary line down the south side of the Bow River in 1881.¹² By the early 1880's, several persons, realizing the commercial potential of the springs, were filing claims for their development.

David Keefe, a section foreman on the CPR, had explored the springs in 1884 and attempted to make them accessible. His exertions in bringing the springs to public notice were not wholly disinterested, however, as he kept a boarding house in the CPR section-house which at that time was the only place where food and lodgings could be procured.¹³ Two young prospectors, Frank McCabe and William McCardell, also claimed to have discovered the Cave and Basin and the Upper Hot Springs and made efforts to secure the area as a mining claim. McCabe then reputedly sold his claim to D.B. Woodworth, a Conservative M.P. from Nova Scotia, for \$1,500.00 though this was not a legitimate transaction as neither McCabe nor McCardell had legal title to the property. Woodworth began certain development work consisting of the construction of a

road and the purchase of a building to be erected as a hotel near the springs.¹⁴

As a result of this activity, the Department of the Interior decided to investigate the hot springs to determine the proper course for their development. After visiting the area in 1885, Thomas White, Minister of the Interior, reported to the Prime Minister that it would be a great misfortune to allow the springs to fall into the hands of private developers as they were of great value, and being situated amidst the grand scenery of the Rocky Mountains, within easy access from the railway, they were certain to become a popular resort for persons afflicted with skin diseases, rheumatism, and other troubles.¹⁵

William Pearce, Superintendent of Mines, who was to play an important role in early park development, made an additional study of the hot springs area in the summer of 1885. Reporting unfavourably on the would-be entrepreneurs in the locale, he helped to draft the Order in Council of November 25, 1885 which provided that:

...whereas near the Station of Banff on the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the Provincial (sic) District of Alberta, North West Territories, there have been discovered several hot mineral springs which promise to be of great sanitary advantage to the public, and in order that proper control of the lands surrounding these springs may remain vested in the crown, the said lands in the territory including said springs and their immediate neighbourhood, be and they are hereby reserved from sale or settlement or squatting.¹⁶

The Government decided to award some compensation for the improvements made by private persons. Pearce, who was directed

to undertake a full investigation of all claims to the springs recommended that David Keefe receive \$100.00, McCabe and McCardell, \$675.00, and Woodworth, \$1,000.00.¹⁷

Shortly after the completion of the railway in 1885, a group of federal parliamentarians travelled across Canada on the new line. Much impressed by the outstanding mountain scenery, several recommended that an extension be made to the original reservation which was only ten square miles. There were also several other factors which contributed to the passage of The Rocky Mountains Park Act in June 1887.

Certainly the CPR enthusiastically welcomed the creation of park areas along its line through the Rockies. Van Horne in particular appreciated the need to make the operation of trains through the sparsely-populated mountains more profitable. The building of luxury hotels within the mountain parks was part of a plan to attract an international tourist traffic from which the CPR having a monopoly on the transportation to the area would derive the main benefit. The Government having made such a substantial investment in the railway was understandably favourable to any projects which would contribute to its success. Thus, early park development was characterized by close co-operation between the CPR and the federal government. As William Pearce acknowledged:

The public is very greatly indebted to Mr. Van Horne and through him the Canadian Pacific Railway for their hearty co-operation in any reservation made for scenic effect or pleasure resorts. Without that co-operation Canada's efforts would not have been anything like as successful as they have been.¹⁸

The advisability of the Government retaining control of the springs was strengthened by the report of John Hall, Secretary of the Interior: his observations on the operation of the Arkansas Hot Springs in 1886 emphasized the detrimental effect of allowing private management of the springs, even though the area was a public reserve. The desecration of Niagara Falls by private enterprise which had begun as early as 1865 served as another example for the desirability of government reservation. Lord Dufferin, after a visit to the Falls, had lamented:

I am sure that everyone will agree with me in thinking that the pleasure he may have derived from his pilgrimage to so famous a spot...has been miserably marred and defeated by the inconvenience he has experienced at the hands of various squatting interests that have taken possession of every point of vantage at the Falls.¹⁹

Partly through the efforts of the Governor-General, steps were taken by the province of Ontario and the state of New York to reserve the area around Niagara Falls as a public park in 1885.

Thus in 1887, the Rocky Mountains Park was created as "a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada."²⁰ A rectangle of 260 square miles which included Devil's Head Lake (Lake Minnewanka) was "withdrawn from sale, settlement and occupancy under the provisions of The Dominion Lands Act or any regulations made under the said Act or any other Act with respect to mining or timber licenses or any other matter whatsoever."

Sole authority for the control and management of the Park was vested in the Minister of the Interior.

A lively debate attended the passage of the Bill through Parliament, but generally speaking there was a good deal of enthusiasm for the project, particularly among those members who had already visited the springs. Even several Opposition members joined with the Conservatives in singing eloquent and poetic praises of the medicinal virtues of the waters, the salubrity of the air and the beauty of the scenery. As Senator Allan declared:

I venture to think that all Canadians will owe a debt of gratitude to the Government for bringing forward this matter at so early a date, to provide...a place of health and enjoyment. I think one debt we owe to the CPR...is that it brings us face to face with some of the finest scenery on this continent...and in no part perhaps shall we find finer scenery than in the park which is the subject of this Bill.²¹

After much discussion the name "Rocky Mountains Park" was chosen over such suggestions as Banff and Victoria because it had a euphonious sound in both languages, localized the park, and was dignified and not hackneyed.²²

By an Order in Council of July 23, 1892 approximately fifty-one square miles were reserved as a forest park around Lake Louise, an area renowned for its inspiring beauty. In the words of Tom Wilson, a pioneer mountain guide, who was the first white man to see the lake in August 1882:

As God is my judge, I never, in all my exploration of these five chains of mountains throughout western Canada, saw such a matchless scene...I felt puny in body, but glorified in soul.²³

Known as Emerald Lake at first, it was named after Princess Louise, the wife of the then Governor-General of Canada, in 1884. One of the CPR stations, originally called Laggan, was situated close to Lake Louise, and the railway company undertook the initial development of this area. The reserve at Lake Louise was incorporated into Rocky Mountains Park in 1902 when its boundaries were substantially extended to encompass the entire watershed of the Bow River, an area of over 3,000 square miles.

Subsequent changes in the park's boundaries occurred over the years. In the general reduction of the national parks for administrative purposes in 1911, Rocky Mountains Park was cut to about one half its former size. But it was enlarged again in 1917, the new area of 2,751 square miles enclosing the natural game breeding area around the Clearwater River in the north and the picturesque watershed of the Kananaskis to the south. In 1929, the boundaries of the park were extended northward to include the spectacular region of the Columbia Icefields which had formerly been part of Jasper Park, it being decided that the height of land between the Athabasca and the Saskatchewan drainage systems at Sunwapta Pass formed the natural dividing line between the two parks.²⁴ As a result of the federal government's decision to transfer the natural resources of Alberta to the provincial government with the exception of the national parks, a detailed survey was carried out to fix permanent park boundaries. The surveyors' report recommended that heights of land as opposed to streams

should be taken as boundaries to facilitate game protection and that areas containing valuable commercial resources should be excluded from the parks. The consequent boundary revision embodied in the National Parks Act of 1930 deleted several areas on the east and the Spray Lakes region from the park, its present area being set at 2,585 square miles.

In 1930, the name of Banff was vindicated when Rocky Mountains Park was officially changed to Banff National Park. An area of varied and picturesque mountain scenery, Banff is perhaps the most famous of all Canada's national parks and was certainly the most highly developed in the period under discussion.

The interests of the CPR also played an important part in the creation of Yoho and Glacier Parks. The Minister of the Interior reported in 1885 that it was of great importance that the British Columbia section of the railway be made as popular as possible.²⁵ In the early days, the CPR did not carry the heavy dining cars on its mountain trains but built comfortable inns at various points such as Field and Glacier to accommodate its passengers. The Government, for its part, undertook to reserve small areas in the immediate neighbourhood to protect the surrounding environs.²⁶

William Pearce, who was responsible for the selection of park sites along the CPR line declared that it would be a national disgrace if every possible step was not taken to prevent the slightest marring of the wonderful beauties which

Nature had conferred upon the route.²⁷ He drew up the Order in Council of October 10, 1886 which provided for the reservation of the following four areas along the main route of the CPR in British Columbia:

1. An area ten miles square at Mount Stephen taking in the country surrounding the base of the mountain and adjoining picturesque points. (This became the nucleus of Yoho National Park.)

2. An area twenty miles square in the vicinity of Mount Sir Donald and Syndicate Peak in the Selkirks taking in the loop of the railway and adjacent territory plus a reservation ten miles square in the vicinity of the "Amphitheatre" at the summit of the Selkirks. (These two areas developed into Glacier National Park.)

3. An area fifteen miles square in Eagle Pass to include Griffin and Three Valley Lakes and adjacent territory.

Since the purpose of these reservations was "to preserve the timber and protect the natural beauties of the districts," Pearce decided shortly afterward that this objective could be better realized if the park areas were restricted only to those spots which could be seen from the railroad or by slight excursions which could be taken therefrom, such as Glacier.²⁸ Accordingly by Order in Council of December 8, 1887, the original reserves were reduced to square miles instead of miles square. It appears, however, that certain lumber interests also played some part in the reduction of these areas. In fact in 1902, the reserve at

Eagle Pass was abolished because "owing to the character of timber in the proposed reservation there was such a demand for it that a considerable portion of the reserve was disposed of."²⁹

The scenic wonders of Yoho National Park such as Emerald Lake, Takakkaw Falls and the Natural Bridge were well known to the Cree and Stoney Indians as is attested by the many Indian names in the district: the name "Yoho" itself is a Cree word signifying wonder or astonishment. In 1858, James Hector of the Palliser Expedition discovered the Kicking Horse Pass, so named because Hector was badly kicked by his horse while in the area. The pass was later utilized by the CPR; the park townsite of Field, named after the promoter of the first Atlantic Cable, dated from the early days of railway construction and later became an important divisional point. In 1908 the CPR constructed the famous Spiral Tunnels in Yoho Park to eliminate the dangerously steep grade from the Great Divide to Field.

Much was done to publicize the magnificent attractions of the district by the German professor Jean Habel. Partly as the result of his explorations, an enlarged park reserve of approximately 800 square miles was set aside in 1901 as "the land is not suitable for ordinary settlement, but, because of the glaciers, large waterfalls, and other wonderful and beautiful scenery...is adopted for the purpose of a public park."³⁰ The Government began developing the park area whose boundaries underwent several revisions. In 1907 an area in

the southwest corner was withdrawn because it was deemed better suited for "other purposes," while in 1911, the park was reduced to 560 square miles. In 1920 the park area was further reduced as the boundaries were readjusted to facilitate the enforcement of the Dominion game regulations.³¹ The park's present area of 507 square miles, set in 1930, makes Yoho one of the smaller mountain parks but it makes up in outstanding and varied beauty what it lacks in size.

Glacier National Park, famed for its rugged peaks and glaciers, was a very popular mountain-climbing center in the early days. Alpinists and mountaineers from all over the world congregated at Glacier House, the commodious alpine inn opened by the CPR in 1887. In order to further promote the area the CPR began bringing out expert Swiss guides in 1899 who initially made their headquarters at Glacier House.³² In 1903 an area of about 700 square miles was officially reserved as Glacier Mountain Park,³³ and with the discovery of the Deutschman (Nakimu) Caves the following year, the Government began a limited development of the area. The park was reduced to 486 square miles in 1911 but was enlarged to its present size of 521 square miles when the boundaries were revised to follow the natural terrain in 1930.

The fortunes of Glacier Park declined after the CPR constructed the five-mile Connaught Tunnel in 1916 to cut out the dangerous route through the Rogers Pass. Though Glacier House continued to operate until 1925, a road being built to connect the hotel with the new station, a diminishing number

of visitors came to the park. Since no new accommodation was built to replace Glacier House which was demolished in 1929, the park remained isolated from all but hardy mountaineers until the opening of the Rogers Pass section of the Trans-Canada Highway in 1962.

Later Parks

Jasper National Park, which encompasses the mountain region east of the Great Divide within the watershed of the Athabasca River, is an area very rich in the early history of Western Canada. The Athabasca Pass discovered in 1811 by David Thompson was one of the most frequented routes of the fur trade, while the Yellowhead Pass came into prominence during the Cariboo gold rush. The park was named after Jasper Hawse³⁴ who was in charge of the North West Company post first located on Brûlé in the early 1800's. Originally a trader from Missouri, Hawse's most distinctive characteristic was reputedly his great mop of yellow hair which is commemorated in such names as Yellowhead Pass and Tête Jaune Cache.

For more than fifty years the park area was frequented by the explorer, fur trader, missionary, scientist and artist. Sir George Simpson travelled over the Athabasca Pass in 1823, stopping to treat his company to a bottle of wine at the "Committee's Punch Bowl" at the summit.³⁵ David Douglas, the Scottish botanist after whom the Douglas fir is named, passed

through the region in the spring of 1827 naming Mounts Hooker and Brown on either side of the Athabasca Pass after two of his mentors. The Belgian missionary Father Pierre de Smet and the artist Paul Kane both spent some time in the area in 1846, while those intrepid "tourists" Milton and Cheadle travelled up the Athabasca and across the Yellowhead Pass during the height of the gold rush fever in the early 1860's.

James Hector of the Palliser Expedition journeyed from Edmonton to explore the more northerly mountain region in the winter of 1859, but it was the search for a route for the promised railway to British Columbia after 1871 which brought the area into increased prominence. Sandford Fleming, Chief Engineer, reported after extensive surveys that of all the passes in the Rocky Mountains the easy grades of the Yellowhead made it the most suitable for the proposed transcontinental line. When eventually a more southerly route was chosen for the CPR, the Yellowhead route had to await the coming of the Grand Trunk Pacific before it was utilized.

In 1907, a strip of land encompassing an area of 5,000 square miles along the right of way of the Grand Trunk Pacific was reserved by order in council as Jasper Forest Park. With the construction of Canada's third transcontinental railway, the Canadian Northern, Jasper Park was traversed by two railroads until they were amalgamated into the Canadian National Railways system after the First World War owing to financial difficulties. The present park townsite of Jasper, originally

the Grand Trunk Pacific depot of Fitzhugh, became an important divisional point for the CNR in 1924.

The Government had to deal with the claims of a number of squatters who had taken up farming in the Athabasca valley before the park was reserved. The removal of all these settlers was successfully negotiated,³⁶ except for Louis J. Swift, an American who had first settled in the area in 1892. Refusing to accept the Government's terms, Swift was allowed to remain in the park as a forest ranger; from his 160-acre homestead close to Jasper townsite, this gregarious old-timer played host to park visitors for many years.³⁷

In 1911, Jasper Park was drastically reduced to one-fifth its former size. This action provoked wide-spread protest as some of the finest big game areas and the most beautiful scenery such as Maligne Lake had been excluded. Strong representations from the railway companies and the Alpine Club resulted in the park being enlarged to an area of 4,400 square miles by an Order in Council of June 24, 1914.³⁸ In 1927, the park was further extended to the south to include the magnificent region of the Columbia Icefields although this area was later transferred to Banff. Several areas along the eastern boundary were excluded in the revision of 1930, but the remaining area of 4,200 square miles makes this national park the largest in the Canadian system.

Jasper National Park, with its numerous mountain lakes and other attractions such as the Miette Hot Springs and Maligne Canyon, developed quickly in the 1920's. It soon began

to rival the Banff park, being "very popular with tourists who combine a love for the sublime in mountain scenery with a liking for the amenities of social life."³⁹

Waterton Lakes National Park, located in the extreme southwest corner of Alberta, was an area well known to the Kootenay Indians who frequented the southern mountain passes on their way to hunt the buffalo of the plains; for a long time the lakes were known as the Kootenay Lakes. In 1858, Lieutenant Thomas Blakiston of the Palliser Expedition was sent to explore the mountain regions near the International Boundary. While in the process of naming various points in the vicinity, he renamed the lakes after the famous eighteenth-century English naturalist Charles Waterton. In 1865, John George "Kootenai" Brown, whose name is closely associated with the early history of the park, made his first visit to the area. So impressed by its scenic beauty was this remarkable frontiersman that he returned to build a cabin between the Middle and Lower Lakes in 1877, becoming Waterton's first permanent settler.⁴⁰

As southwestern Alberta became increasingly settled in the 1880's, "Kootenai" Brown became concerned to protect his beautiful lakes and the rapidly disappearing fish and wildlife on which his livelihood depended. The short-lived oil boom in the vicinity of the lakes in 1889-1891 served to further emphasize the inevitable destruction of wildlife and scenery should people flood into the mountains and foothills. Brown's

enthusiasm for a park reservation, shared by several other local residents, prompted F.W. Godsall to bring the matter to the attention of William Pearce:

I believe that some years ago in an official report you recommended that the Crows Nest Pass, Kootenay or Waterton Lakes, etc, should be reserved as National Parks. I wish now in the strongest manner to urge upon the Gov't the adoption of this suggestion without delay.

The Crows Nest Pass and Waterton Lakes have been for years a common resort for the surrounding neighbourhood for camping and holiday making and there being but few such places in the country, I think they should be reserved for ever for the use of the public otherwise a comparatively small number of settlers can control and spoil these public resorts. Every day that it is delayed increases the probability of friction between the Gov't and settlers that may build in these spots.⁴¹

Pearce forwarded the letter to Ottawa with his approval, but the Deputy Minister of the Interior A.M. Burgess felt that the movement to reserve park areas in the Rocky Mountains was getting a little out of hand:

There is really some danger that this reservation of parks may be made ineffectual on account of the number of reservations. I am afraid if they go on increasing the public will begin to think that they are not very sacred.⁴²

However, his superior T.M. Daly declared that "Posterity will bless us" for making such a reserve.⁴³ Accordingly by an Order in Council of May 30, 1895 an area of fifty-four square miles was set aside as the Waterton Lakes Forest Park, "Kootenai" Brown being appointed as Fishery Officer in order to deter illegal fishing in the lakes.

In the early 1900's, efforts were again made to extract oil from the Waterton region. In fact, Brown sold the quarter

section of land he had acquired in 1891 to J.B. Ferguson for \$2,000.00 as headquarters for the Western Oil and Coal Company.⁴⁴ This neglect of park purposes coupled with its increasing popularity prompted Godsall to write to the Department of the Interior again in 1905:

A very large number of people resort there every year for camping....It is therefore very essential that the interests of the public should be properly safeguarded at this "beauty spot". Firstly I doubt the reserve is large enough for its purpose and as the land around is very stony and quite unfit for agriculture or settlement, it can be enlarged without hurting anyone.⁴⁵

The subsequent failure of the oil development and the support of John Herron, the Conservative-Liberal member for the federal constituency of Alberta, contributed to the second reservation of the area as Kootenay Lakes Forest Reserve by an Order in Council of April 13, 1910. This misnomer was corrected the following year when the region was officially designated Waterton Lakes National Park, "Kootenai" Brown being appointed Acting Superintendent.

However, the simultaneous reduction of the park to a mere 13.5 square miles proved very unpopular as it not only cut out the best game breeding areas but actually excluded the lakes themselves from the reservation.⁴⁶ Brown and Howard Douglas, Chief Superintendent of the Dominion Parks, both strongly urged the extension of the park to the United States border to adjoin Glacier National Park which would create an international game preserve. As a result of the protest, the park boundaries were enlarged to encompass an

area of 423 square miles contiguous with the International Boundary.⁴⁷ Part of this area was later withdrawn from the park in 1921 to be administered as a forest reserve. In 1932, Waterton Lakes National Park, now 205 square miles, was dedicated with the American Glacier National Park as an International Peace Park to symbolize the good will and friendship between Canada and the United States.

In 1906, a group of Revelstoke citizens explored the adjacent environs of Mount Revelstoke and reported on the excellent recreational potential of the area, which soon became popular with local residents for hiking, camping and particularly skiing. The City of Revelstoke built trails to the summit of the mountain and to Miller and Eva Lakes, named after prominent Revelstoke citizens. In 1911, the provincial government undertook the construction of a road to the summit, but a movement was already gathering force for the creation of a national park. The Progress Club of Revelstoke wrote to enlist the aid of their Member of Parliament, R.F. Green:

The citizens of Revelstoke by the unanimous expression through their City Council, Board of Trade, and the more recently organized Progress Club desire to have the area at the top of Mount Revelstoke reserved for Dominion Park purposes and hereby respectfully request you to use your kind offices to give effect to their wishes.⁴⁸

As a result of this and other representations made to the Department of the Interior, British Columbia readily concurred in the reservation of ninety-five square miles

around the mountain as a "scenic park" by an Order in Council of April 28, 1914. Indeed the superb natural features of the new park provoked a poetic outburst from Acting Superintendent Maunder as he enthusiastically described its attractions:

...the joy and exhilaration of the automobile drive; the charm and variety of the scenic views; the lovely contrasts of the park tarns and lakes; balsam trees and flower masses of vivid colouring; open meadow plateaus, rock ridges and glacier fronts; snow peaks and green forests, and the great pine stretches and slopes of winter's snow, filled with the tonic of life in all seasons.⁴⁹

The property of the Revelstoke Ski Club, formed in 1911, was included in the park in 1920, the Dominion Government taking over the development of facilities.⁵⁰

Whereas most of the mountain national parks had been created to preserve scenic areas along the railway lines, Kootenay National Park was reserved "to preserve, in perpetuity, the beauty of the natural landscape and the charm of native animal and plant life along the route of the Banff-Windermere highway, the first motor road across the Central Canadian Rockies."⁵¹ Possibly the first white men to visit this area of spectacular mountain scenery were Sir George Simpson and James Sinclair in the early 1840's, their names having been given to several landmarks throughout the park. These and other early travellers such as Father de Smet all noted the existence of hot mineral springs at what is today known as Radium. In 1881, the springs became part of the homestead of John McKay.⁵²

The possibilities of the Vermillion Pass, which was

chosen as the route for the first trans-montane highway, had been recognized as early as 1857 by James Hector. One of the most active advocates of the project was a resident British Columbian, Randolph Bruce, who worked to interest provincial authorities and the CPR. To be part of a trans-Canada highway, the original plan formulated about 1910 called for joint federal-provincial construction, the Dominion Government being responsible for the building of the road through Rocky Mountains Park. By 1914, the Dominion in conjunction with the province of Alberta had completed the highway from Calgary to the Great Divide, but the coming of the First World War which curtailed construction left the taxing British Columbia section unfinished and provincial funds exhausted. Partly at the instigation of Mr. Bruce and Park Commissioner Harkin, the federal government decided to take over the construction of this last section as the opening of the road promised to greatly increase travel to the mountains.

In 1919, an agreement was finalized with the British Columbia authorities whereby, in return for the completion of the road, the province would grant the Dominion Government "a strip of land along the said Banff-Windermere road as laid out and completed to an approximate width of five miles on each side thereof."⁵³ Set aside as Kootenay National Park by an Order in Council of April 21, 1920, the region was so named because it had originally been the hunting grounds of the Kootenay Indians. Bruce felt strongly that it should

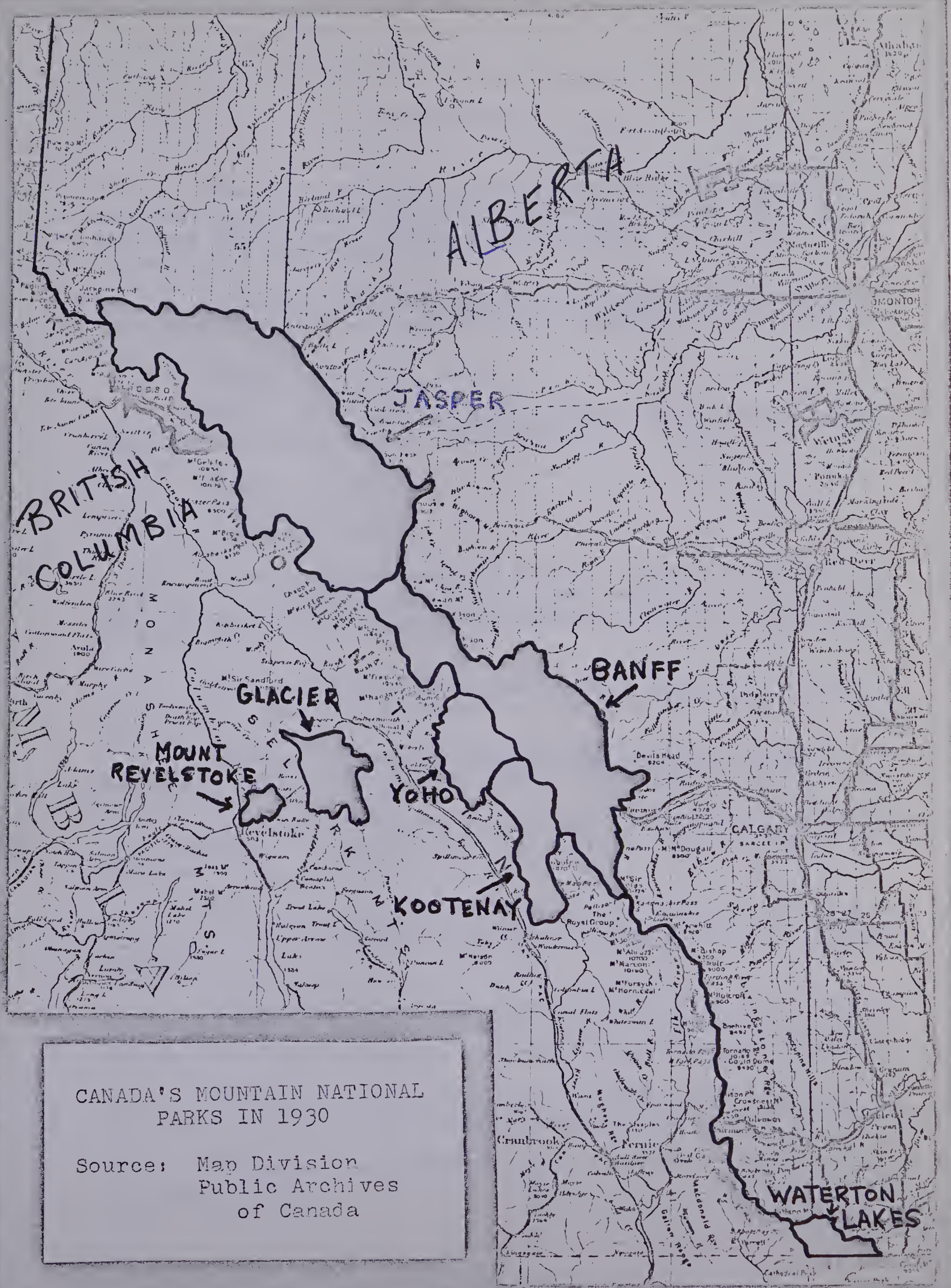
have been called Columbia Park, however, as this would attract more Americans.⁵⁴ Government development of the park began after the completion of the highway in 1923.

In the early 1900's, control of the hot springs had passed to a private English company who erected a bath house and a large concrete reservoir for bathing, charging fifty cents a bath.⁵⁵ Unable to negotiate a satisfactory purchase of this property, an area of 615 acres, the Government eventually expropriated the springs in 1922 which "properly developed would be a great benefit to the public as well as an improvement and attraction to the park."⁵⁶

There were also numerous homesteads in the Kootenay Valley which it was felt would be undesirable to include in the park. By the agreement, the Provincial Government undertook to arrange that all lands within the park alienated or under any vested interest prior to May 27, 1916 should be turned over to the Dominion, the owners to receive a Crown Grant elsewhere in the province plus adequate compensation for all improvements from the Dominion Government. This promised to be such an expensive undertaking that by an Order in Council of February 2, 1922 the boundaries of the park were revised "to provide that as many as possible of the settlers holding land under Crown grant should be outside the Park boundary."⁵⁷ The present park boundaries were surveyed and fixed in 1926, encompassing an area of 587 square miles.

With the reservation of Kootenay, Canada's system of

mountain national parks was complete. Though perhaps more in recognition of their tourist potential than the inherent value of wilderness conservation, the fundamental purpose of these reserves was to preserve some of the finest scenery on the North American continent. They remain today the outstanding scenic parks of the Canadian system, attracting millions of visitors annually.



CANADA'S MOUNTAIN NATIONAL
PARKS IN 1930

Source: Map Division
Public Archives
of Canada

FOOTNOTES

¹Roderick Nash provides an excellent discussion of the unique role of wilderness in American development in his book Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

²Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 24.

³Ibid., p. 101.

⁴Frank C. Brockman, Recreational Use of Wild Lands (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 53.

⁵Ibid., p. 52.

⁶Ibid., p. 54.

⁷Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, National Parks Branch, The Origin and Meaning of the National parks of Canada (Vancouver: H.R. Larson, 1957), p. 6.

⁸Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 15, B-1a, File 155293, Copy of the Yellowstone Park Act, March 1, 1872.

⁹Sandford Fleming, England and Canada (London: Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1884), p. 415.

¹⁰R. Scace, "Banff Townsite: Evolution of a National Park Community" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1967), p. 21.

¹¹William Pearce, "Establishment of National Parks in the Rockies," Alberta Historical Review, vol. 10 (Summer 1962), p. 10.

¹²The opinion of the pioneer guide Tom Wilson whose brief manuscript history of the national parks was found in the William Pearce Papers, University of Alberta Archives.

¹³Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 15, B-1a, File 137193, Report on Claims to Hot Springs, August 16, 1886.

¹⁴Canada, Department of the Interior, "Order in Council, 28 August 1886."

¹⁵Canada, Public Archives, Manuscript Group 26, A-1b (John A. Macdonald Papers), Confidential Report on the North West Territories, 1885, vol. 154, p. 62827.

¹⁶Pearce, "Establishment of National Parks," p. 12.

¹⁷Canada, Public Archives, RG 15, B-1a, File 137193, Report on Claims, Aug. 16, 1886.

¹⁸Pearce, op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁹A.R. Byrne, "Man and Landscape Change in the Banff Area Before 1911" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1964), p. 111.

²⁰Canada, An Act respecting the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada, 50-51 Victoria, ch. 32.

²¹Canada, Parliament, Debates of the Senate, 1887, p. 107.

²²Ibid., pp. 107-108.

²³Robert H. Davis, Canada Cavalcade (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1937), p. 120.

²⁴Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 6 February 1929."

²⁵Canada, Public Archives, MG 26, A-1b, Confidential Report, vol. 154, p. 62828.

²⁶Mabel B. Williams, The Banff-Jasper Highway, (Saskatoon: H.R. Larson, 1963 [copyright 1948]), p. 12.

²⁷Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Superintendent of Mines," Annual Report, 1886 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1886), Part I, p. 24.

²⁸Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National Parks Branch, File U346, vol. 1, Letter, W. Pearce to Minister of Interior, November 4, 1887.

²⁹Pearce, "Establishment of National Parks," p. 17.

³⁰Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 14 December 1901."

³¹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 21 April 1920."

³²F.V. Longstaff, "The Swiss Guides in Canada," Canadian Alpine Journal, vol. 28, 1942-43, p. 189.

³³Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 23 November 1903."

³⁴Also spelled Haws or Hawes in some records.

³⁵Canada, Dept. of Interior, Description and Guide to Jasper Park (Ottawa, 1917), p. 21.

³⁶A total of \$5,025.00 was paid to settle six claims by an Order in Council of April 13, 1910.

³⁷Swift's homestead eventually reverted to the Crown in the 1930's.

³⁸Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 22, B, File U7, vol. 1, Memo to Minister of Interior, March 24, 1915.

³⁹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks," Annual Report, 1930-31 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931), Part IV, p. 99.

⁴⁰For an interesting account of "Kootenai" Brown's life see William Rodney's Kootenai Brown: His Life and Times 1839-1916 (Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1969).

⁴¹Canada, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National Parks Branch, File W2, vol. 1, Letter, F.W. Godsal to W. Pearce, 1893, (n.d.).

⁴²William Rodney, Kootenai Brown (Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1969), p. 173.

⁴³Canada, National Parks Branch, File W2, vol. 1, Letter, T. M. Daly to A.M. Burgess, November 18, 1893.

⁴⁴The industrial development in the Waterton Lakes area will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. The Government eventually paid Ferguson \$2,500.00 for this land.

⁴⁵Canada, National Parks Branch, File W2, vol. 1, Letter, F.W. Godsal to Secretary of Interior, 1905, (n.d.).

⁴⁶Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 8 June 1911."

⁴⁷Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 24 June 1914."

⁴⁸Canada, National Parks Branch, File MR2, vol. 1, Letter, J. Hamilton to R.F. Green, August 17, 1912.

⁴⁹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks," Annual Report, 1915-1916 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1916), Part III, p. 64.

⁵⁰Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 5 May 1920."

⁵¹Calgary Herald, May 10, 1930.

⁵²Robert Scharff, Canada's Mountain National Parks (Toronto: Musson, 1966), p. 17.

⁵³Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Agreement with British Colombia," Annual Report, 1918-1919 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1919), Appendix No. 11, Part V, pp. 30-33.

⁵⁴Canada, National Parks Branch, File K2, vol. 2, Letter, R. Bruce to J.B. Harkin, June 22, 1922.

⁵⁵Canada, National Parks Branch, File K2, vol. 1, Memo to Harkin, December 15, 1916.

⁵⁶Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 10 February 1922." An amendment to the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act in 1919 provided that the Government could expropriate any land deemed necessary for park purposes. Compensation of \$22,000.00 was paid to the former owners of the hot springs.

⁵⁷Canada, Public Archives, MG 26, J4 (W.L. Mackenzie King Papers), Memo, January 26, 1922, vol. 126, pp. C91785-6.

CHAPTER II

THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE NATIONAL PARKS

In the early period before 1911, National Parks administration was very small and decentralized. In fact, for a long time, the only park official was the Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park who also looked after both Yoho and Glacier. Being solely responsible for the interpretation and enforcement of regulations, the first park superintendent George Stewart complained that he was obliged to act as engineer, surveyor, architect, land agent, forest ranger, justice of the peace and accountant.¹ By 1903, however, he had the aid of an assistant superintendent plus a small staff including the caretaker of the hot springs, curator of the museum, and keeper of the animal paddock.

As the parks system expanded, the need for the co-ordination of policy and development became apparent. The first move toward centralization occurred in 1908 with the appointment of a Commissioner of Dominion Parks, it being "in the public interest to have a responsible outside officer who would have general control of the parks and act upon direct instructions from Ottawa."² In the summer of 1910, this office was moved from Banff to Edmonton to enable the Commissioner to

be in closer touch with the organization of Jasper Park and the two grassland parks in central Alberta.³ At the same time, the administration of Yoho and Glacier was separated from that of Rocky Mountains Park, and acting superintendents were appointed for both Waterton Lakes and Jasper.

Though officially under the jurisdiction of the federal Department of the Interior, initially the park reserves "were passed about like orphans from one administrative office to another."⁴ In 1908, they were placed under the control of the Forestry Branch and administered in connection with the Dominion forest reserves. In fact, however, the administrative requirements of the national parks differed from those of the forest reserves, emphasizing absolute preservation rather than conservation for commercial use. Consequently in 1911, the Minister of the Interior Frank Oliver, recognizing the potentialities of the Dominion parks and their need of a separate administration, created the National Parks Branch, a momentous event in the history of Canada's national parks.⁵

A complete administrative reorganization resulted from this important development. The office of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks was moved to the new headquarters at Ottawa, the original staff of seven being temporarily housed in the Birks Building.⁶ The position at Edmonton became that of Chief Superintendent whose primary duty was to supervise all the parks' outside officers.⁷ There was to be a separate organization⁸ for each park under the control of a superintendent

assisted by a small secretarial and warden staff. However, the Minister of the Interior realized that the number of park officials was still inadequate to effectively administer the large park areas. Ostensibly to allow for more efficient control, Oliver substantially reduced the size of the parks in 1911.⁹

The same year, James B. Harkin, former newspaperman and later private secretary to both Clifford Sifton and Frank Oliver, accepted his chief's offer to take charge of the newly-created National Parks Branch. One of Canada's outstanding civil servants, the new Commissioner of Dominion Parks who combined "a practical idealism with a rare capacity for disinterested service"¹⁰ was to be responsible for the formation of national parks policy for the next twenty-five years. Harkin dedicated his considerable energy and ability to the development of the national parks for the greatest possible benefit of the people of Canada for he fully appreciated what a tremendous heritage they were; in fact, he became "almost a mystic about the Parks."¹¹

On the average, the national parks also appear to have been served by a body of conscientious men in the field. In his report of 1912-1913, the Chief Superintendent made a point of thanking the various park superintendents and the men engaged under them for "the way in which they have one and all, from the highest to the lowest, carried out the work entrusted to them in a painstaking and economical manner." The parks' officials had varied backgrounds. Certainly not all of them

had professional training like George A. Stewart, the first Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park, who was a civil engineer and landscape architect.¹² Howard Douglas, the first Commissioner of Dominion Parks, had worked for the CPR before setting up a cartage and coal business in Calgary. Perhaps, the most colourful of all park employees was the old frontiersman "Kootenai" Brown who spent his last five years as Acting Superintendent of Waterton Lakes. After the First World War, it became the policy to hire veterans wherever possible.

Although theoretically each superintendent was to be responsible for the administration of his own park, all policy decisions had to be sanctioned by the Head Office in Ottawa. The long distance often caused annoying delays and resulted in an insensitivity to local problems which frustrated park residents. It was frequently suggested, particularly during the 1920's, that the Parks Commission should be moved to the West or more authority delegated to the individual superintendents.¹³ An attempt was made to alleviate the situation by the creation of citizens' advisory councils to assist in the formulation of parks policy, but this proved unsatisfactory to the residents as the councils had no real power to ensure that their views received a hearing. It was not until 1927 that the first annual conference of park superintendents was held in Ottawa, resulting in a mutual exchange of ideas which contributed to a better understanding of

individual park problems.

The National Parks Branch continued to operate in conjunction with the Forestry Branch as is shown by the passage of a joint act respecting the administration of the Dominion forest reserves and the parks in 1911. After the designation of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains as a forest reserve in 1910, the three Alberta parks were treated as an integral part of this giant reservation. For a time areas of the Rocky Mountains and Waterton Lakes parks were administered by the Forestry Branch except for game regulations, eventually being withdrawn to become officially part of the forest reserve. While there was particularly close co-operation between the two branches with regard to forest fire protection, the Parks Branch strenuously resisted the proposal of the Forestry Branch to take over the administration of the park forests. Besides the resulting confusion of jurisdiction, the management of the forests in the reserves to provide lumber was inimical to the preservation of the forests in the national parks for scenic enjoyment.¹⁴ The desirability of complete separation from the forest reserves to provide for the more efficient administration of the national parks as recreation grounds and wildlife sanctuaries was finally recognized by the National Parks Act of 1930.

One of the chief criticisms of the Rocky Mountains Park Act was the extensive authority vested in the Minister of the Interior, it being charged that "if unlimited power is

given over this domain to any Minister, it will be used for the purposes of that Minister or his party to some extent."¹⁵ Several Opposition members, frankly suspicious of the Conservatives' motives, termed the Bill "one to enable the Government to go into a speculation with some of their friends ...the reservation is partly for the railway company and partly for private individuals."¹⁶ Although there is little evidence that the Parks administration was riddled with the political corruption that often plagued the early American system,¹⁷ some patronage politics does appear to have been in operation.

George Stewart had made himself very unpopular with certain parties in Banff particularly in connection with land deals and the enforcement of various regulations. In 1896, he was dismissed after an investigation revealed that his management of park affairs was such that "harmony and satisfaction could not be looked for."¹⁸ That same year, however, Laurier had outstayed the Conservatives, and it was customary to pay political debts by appointing supporters to government offices. The two major contenders for Stewart's position were Major James Walker, who had commercial interests in Banff, and Howard Douglas, a Calgary businessman. Arthur L. Sifton, brother of the newly-appointed Minister of the Interior and a prominent Alberta Liberal, pressed for the appointment of Douglas who had been nominated by the Calgary Liberal Association:

...he has been a consistent & hard worker on all occasions and was President of the Liberal Organization here for years when it was a great detriment to a man politically and when Walker was continually getting contracts from the Conservative Government....Calgary did very good work [at] election time and at least 9/10 of it was done by the parties who made this recommendation.¹⁹

As a result, Howard Douglas became the new superintendent in 1897.

John Walker, the caretaker at the Cave and Basin, was also relieved of his duties in 1897 as a result of complaints concerning his disruptive conduct during a Liberal election rally at Banff.²⁰ Frank Oliver, the Liberal member for the constituency, recommended a popular local Mr. Galletly for the position:

I think it is very desirable that the gentlemen who have been running the Park for the past number of years should have the fact manifested to them that they are not running it any more. I do not believe in wholesale removal from office without cause, but I just as firmly believe that where cause exists removal should be made, especially in such places as Banff where our friends are in such a minority, and are being perpetually over-ridden and brow-beaten by their opponents.²¹

Douglas vigorously promoted the development of Rocky Mountains Park; in 1908, he was appointed Commissioner of Dominion Parks and later Chief Superintendent. However, his fortunes declined with the Conservative victory in 1911: he was dismissed shortly after for "excessive partisanship" during the last election and "using his official position to advance his own personal interests."²² There was also a general reshuffle of park superintendents.²³

Over the years, it was acknowledged that politics did affect the administration and development of the parks. The fortunes of park residents were subject to change with those of their respective political parties. One of the most prominent examples of political patronage was that of the Brewster family of Banff who, partially because of their Liberal connection, were able to exercise a good deal of influence over the development of Banff and Jasper Parks.²⁴

Parliament gradually attempted to alleviate the difficulties which had resulted from the vesting of sole authority for the control and management of the national parks in the Minister of the Interior. Initially, however, wide regulatory power had been an operative necessity: it was impossible to embody definite regulations and stringent provisions into an Act of Parliament as only practical experience would reveal the requirements necessary for successful park development. By the provisions of the Park Act of 1887, all rules and regulations were to appear in the Canada Gazette for four consecutive weeks after which they would have the force of law. In 1906, the Park Act was amended to give Parliament more control; thereafter, all regulatory legislation was to be submitted to Parliament within fifteen days after the beginning of the next session and would remain in force only until the day after the end of the session unless approved by both Houses during the said session.²⁵

It will be noted that only the Rocky Mountains Park had been created by an Act of Parliament, all others being reserved by Order in Council. In 1911, an Act was passed to give uniformity to the parks system. The Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act, in repealing all previous parks legislation, provided that:

The Governor in Council may from time to time, designate such reserves or areas within the forest reserves or areas as he sees fit, to be and be known as Dominion Parks, and subject to the provisions of this Act, they shall be maintained and made use of as public parks and pleasure grounds, for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada.

Accordingly by an Order in Council of June 8, 1911, the five existing mountain park regions were officially designated as Dominion Parks. But, as has been mentioned, the park areas were reduced by about sixty per cent, ostensibly to allow efficient management by the existing staff. However, general disapproval followed; William Pearce, in particular, expressed concern and suspicion over Oliver's motives:

...if the same element had been sustained in the general election 1911, the probabilities are that there would have been soon very little reservations left either for park or forest at least anything that had any commercial timber value. Political exigencies work havoc with a good many matters.²⁶

Park areas would always be endangered as long as it was solely within the power of the Minister, who was subject to political pressure, to make alterations in the parks' boundaries. In the 1920's, the controversy over the Spray Lakes ²⁷ emphasized the desirability of greater parliamentary control. The opinion was expressed that the parks had now

become of sufficient national importance that before any boundary change was made there should be an open discussion of the matter in Parliament and a special act passed.²⁸

Several bills to this effect were introduced during the 1920's, but it was not until 1930 that The National Parks Act became law. This Act, an epochal one in the history of the national parks, was intended to ensure the inviolability of park areas by providing that the creation of new parks and any addition to or deletion from the parks required an Act of Parliament. The powers of the Minister were more carefully and extensively defined, all regulations to be published in the Canada Gazette becoming effective after a period of thirty days. The Act also provided that the parks would now be officially known as the National Parks of Canada; a boundary schedule for Banff, Jasper, Yoho and Glacier Parks was included.²⁹

The new Act was heralded as the beginning of a new era for the national parks:

No longer will the park boundaries and policy of administration fluctuate with the rise and fall of the various political parties in power at Ottawa because they can never again be made the political policy of any part, but are the policy, property and pride of each and every individual Canadian in this broad dominion.³⁰

By reducing the influence of politics in the parks, it was forecast that the new Bill would help to stabilize park policy:

The park official will be able to carry on according to the terms of the National Parks Act without that concessionary of real or assumed political importance making his life a burden to him by continually obstructing the performance of

his official duties and carrying complaints over
his head to political organizations or MP's at
Ottawa.....³¹

The establishment of federal reserves within the provinces created some unforeseen conflicts in dominion-provincial jurisdiction. In Alberta, the Government was free to reserve what land it wished because, even when the province was created in 1905, the Dominion retained control of the public lands. In British Columbia, however, federal jurisdiction applied only within the Railway Belt, a forty-mile strip across the province granted for the construction of the CPR; as a result, all the national parks in British Columbia were created from this section. Theoretically the general laws of both provinces were to apply to the park areas, the Dominion Government having a status roughly analogous to that of a private citizen. For park residents, however, it was something of an enigma as to what degree they were citizens of their respective provinces or "wards" of the federal government.

One of the earliest problems in dominion-provincial jurisdiction related to the liquor laws. Under the general regulations for Rocky Mountains Park passed by an Order in Council of June 30, 1890, no bar-room or saloon was permitted in the park, but the sale of liquor was to be regulated by Section 92 of the North West Territories Act with the restriction that licences would be issued only to legitimate hotel businesses having accommodation for a specified number of

people. A territorial liquor licence issued for a fee of \$200.00 was to be countersigned by the Minister of the Interior for an additional fee of \$50.00.

Initially a good deal of confusion resulted from this complicated arrangement; the park regulations were not enforced, but numerous liquor licences were issued by the Lieutenant-Governor particularly for the coal mining town of Anthracite. In January 1892, a North West Territories Ordinance respecting the sale of liquor was made applicable to the park although licences still had to be countersigned. But even the more lenient provisions of the Ordinance were not very strictly enforced, there being some doubt as to whether the Territorial licence inspectors had jurisdiction within the park.

As a result by 1894, there were ten establishments selling liquor at Banff even though the total number of permanent residents in the park was only between 200-250.³² Superintendent Stewart was very anxious that the park regulations be enforced to "put a stop to the very frequent cases of drunkenness that occur...it is very annoying to see the reputation of the Park suffer from the effects of the open traffic in liquor."³³ He attempted to prosecute several persons for breach of park regulations, but all convictions were appealed and subsequently dropped owing to the conflicting jurisdiction. Representations were made to have the Legislative Assembly co-operate with the Dominion in securing federal approval before a liquor licence was granted. After the creation of the province of Alberta, the problem was resolved by allowing

the province to handle the matter. Subject to the approval of the Dominion government, the province was to issue all liquor licences for the parks and collect the revenue from same.³⁴

Part of the problem in enforcing liquor regulations arose from the difficulty in establishing proper jurisdiction for the administration of law and order in the national parks. For the purpose of enforcing park legislation, the superintendent was given the power of justice of the peace in 1890, but the North West Mounted Police, stationed in the park to assist in judicial matters, were also authorized to try offenders.³⁵ Stewart charged that his great difficulty in securing convictions resulted from Police Inspector Harper's neglect of his duty,³⁶ forcing him to lay information and try cases himself. Park residents emphasized the need for an independent stipendiary magistrate because the police should not prosecute and judge the same case and park officials were bound to be prejudiced.

The problem dragged on for several decades. Although the appointment of justices of the peace was usually a provincial responsibility, the federal government appointed the first park magistrates. In 1923, however, it was decided that they should be appointed by provincial authorities but receive payment from the Dominion.³⁷ Finally the question was settled by the Parks Act of 1930 which provided for the federal appointment of one or more stipendiary magistrates to exercise exclusive jurisdiction within the national parks in conformity

with provincial laws. The Governor in Council might also appoint park residents to act as justices of the peace for the purposes of the Act.³⁸

Initially, it had been intended that the North West Mounted Police would be primarily responsible for the keeping of law and order in the national parks besides assisting in fire and game patrol. In 1917, however, the Department of Justice decided that the administration of civil and criminal law in the Alberta parks should be turned over to the provincial authorities; but this arrangement proved so inadequate and unpopular that the Mounted Police were re-instated the following year. Federal responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the parks was finalized by an agreement with the province of Alberta in 1918. It provided that the federal police would enforce any provincial laws that are ordinarily enforced by a police force, and if any doubt should arise as to the authority of the police to act with respect to the enforcement of such laws, the province would take whatever steps were necessary to vest them with such authority.³⁹

A jurisdictional problem was also experienced over the enforcement of Dominion parks game regulations. Since provincial laws were to take precedence, federal regulations formulated for the protection of wildlife in 1909 were never applied to the British Columbia parks. Provincial legislation was less stringent, however; park authorities expressed concern over the carrying of unsealed firearms during the construction of the Connaught Tunnel in Glacier Park but

were assured that the provincial game wardens could look after the matter.⁴⁰ In 1919, an agreement was negotiated whereby [British Columbia] gave up all control over wildlife in the national parks and federal regulations came into effect. In 1906, it was arranged that the Dominion regulations should take precedence over Alberta's Provincial Game Act provided that they were not less stringent. The Department of the Interior was to appoint a warden staff to enforce its regulations and collect fines for infringements.⁴¹

Unfortunately, conflicting jurisdiction also caused a system of dual licensing to develop within the national parks. In Alberta, both the Dominion and Provincial governments required that licences be taken out for the operation of pool rooms, picture houses and automobiles which obviously worked a financial hardship upon park residents. As a result, an agreement was concluded between the Dominion and Alberta in 1918 in an attempt to solve these and other jurisdictional problems. With respect to motor licences, the owners of cars resident in the parks were required to take out a provincial licence, but the Dominion received five dollars of the licence fee which was the national parks fee for private motor cars. While the province was to collect a theatre ticket tax on amusement places in the parks, the licensing and control of pool rooms, motion-picture houses, restaurants and all like establishments which by their nature were closely related to the tourist were to be under exclusive federal jurisdiction.

Educational matters were to remain under the exclusive jurisdiction of the province, ordinary school districts having been set up in Banff and Jasper under the provisions of the Alberta Schools Act. A clause was to be inserted in park leases making residents subject to the payment of school taxes. A similar arrangement was finalized with British Columbia on March 12, 1919. No provincial legislation which in any way conflicted with the legislation or regulations of the Dominion was to have jurisdiction within the national parks, except for automobile and liquor licences.

Although the Dominion planned to transfer natural resources to the Western provinces, the national parks were to remain under federal jurisdiction. As a result in 1930, acts were drawn up in conjunction with the National Parks Act providing for the transfer of the natural resources of the Prairie Provinces to their respective governments and the Railway Belt to British Columbia. The provisions respecting the national parks were the same in all the acts: the Government of Canada was to have exclusive legislative jurisdiction "within the whole area included within the outer boundaries of each of the said Parks."⁴² Furthermore:

...the laws now in force within the said area shall continue in force only until changed by the Parliament of Canada or under its authority, provided, however, that all laws of the province now or hereafter in force, which are not repugnant to any law or regulation made applicable within the said area...under the authority of the Parliament of Canada, shall extend to and be enforced within the same, and that all general taxing acts passed by the province shall apply within the same unless expressly excluded from application therein...under the authority of the Parliament of Canada.⁴³

This arrangement was to have far-reaching consequences and be fraught with future difficulties which still await a permanent solution.⁴⁴ As R.B. Bennett remonstrated during the debate on the British Columbia Bill:

It means that within a portion of an area of this Dominion called a province, provincial powers shall not be exercised by its legislature, and the federal power which, under the constitution, has no jurisdiction in the premises, is to exercise supreme control over that area, and the people settled therein.⁴⁵

FOOTNOTES

¹Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 15, B-1a File 286388, Monthly Report of Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park, February 26, 1892.

²Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Deputy Minister," Annual Report, 1907-1908 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1908), p. x.

³Buffalo and Elk Island National Parks were created primarily as wildlife preserves.

⁴Mabel B. Williams, The Banff-Jasper Highway, (Saskatoon: H. R. Larson, 1963 [copyright 1948]), p. 12.

⁵Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks," Annual Report, 1911-1912 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1912) Part V, p. 4.

⁶Mabel B. Williams, private interview, London, Ont., July 1, 1968.

⁷The office of Chief Superintendent was phased out around 1919.

⁸The smaller parks of Yoho and Glacier were jointly administered; eventually Yoho received a separate administration, but Glacier and Mount Revelstoke were amalgamated with administrative headquarters at Revelstoke.

⁹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 8 June 1911."

¹⁰Williams, Banff-Jasper Highway, p. 13.

¹¹Williams, interview, July 1, 1968.

¹²Stewart was hired in 1886 at an annual salary of \$1800.00. While park positions were definitely not lucrative, wage scales were adjusted over the years.

¹³Crag and Canyon, August 11, 1922.

¹⁴Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 22, B, File U3, vol. 3, Departmental Memo, January 19, 1914.

¹⁵Canada, Parliament; House of Commons Debates, 1887 (Ottawa, 1887), p. 241.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 229.

¹⁷For a discussion of this problem see the first chapters of John Ise's Our National Park Policy: A Critical History (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1961).

¹⁸Canada, Public Archives, Manuscript Group 27, II, D15, (Clifford Sifton Papers), Letter, C. Sifton to J. R. Robertson, September 21, 1897, vol. 223, pp. 123-24.

¹⁹Public Archives, MG 27, II, D15, Letter, A. L. Sifton to Frank Oliver, June 2, 1897, vol. 29, pp. 19028-29.

²⁰Public Archives, MG 27, II, D15, Declaration, March 4, 1897, vol. 33, pp. 21532-35.

²¹Public Archives, MG 27, II, D15, Letter, Frank Oliver to A. L. Sifton, January 18, 1897, vol. 33, pp. 21510-11.

²²Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1912-1913 (Ottawa, 1913), p. 957.

²³P. C. Barnard-Hervey of Calgary replaced Howard Douglas. In Rocky Mountains Park, S. J. Clarke of Calgary replaced A. B. Macdonald as superintendent, while Colonel S. M. Rogers of Ottawa became the new superintendent at Jasper. F. E. Maunder of Field, B. C. became Superintendent of Yoho and Glacier, replacing George Hunter who resigned after being transferred to Banff.

²⁴Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1930 (Ottawa, 1930), p. 1940.

²⁵Canada, An Act to amend the Rocky Mountains Park Act, 1906, 6 Edward VIII, ch. 44.

²⁶William Pearce, "Establishment of National Parks in the Rockies," Alberta Historical Review, vol. 10 (Summer 1962), p. 15.

²⁷Supra, p. 138.

²⁸Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1926-27 (Ottawa, 1927), vol. 1, p. 160.

²⁹Canada, An Act respecting National Parks, 1930, 20-21 George V, ch. 10.

³⁰Crag and Canyon, October 24, 1930, p. 2.

³¹Canada, Public Archives, R. B. Bennett Papers, Film 241, pp. 296315-296317.

³²Public Archives, RG 15, B-1a, File 376097, Memo, Rothwell to Burgess, December 24, 1894.

³³Public Archives, RG 15, B-1a, File 376097, Memo, Rothwell to Burgess, October 14, 1892.

³⁴The same arrangement was also made for British Columbia in 1919.

³⁵Any breach of park regulations was liable to prosecution under the provisions of the Summary Convictions Act. The scale of fines was adjusted over the years being heaviest for offenders against the game regulations.

³⁶Public Archives, RG 15, B-1a, File 376097, Memo, Rothwell to Burgess, July 16, 1894. According to Stewart, Harper was under the thumb of certain parties in Banff which made him afraid to take any action.

³⁷Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1924 (Ottawa, 1924), vol. 3, p. 2774.

³⁸Canada, The National Parks Act, 1930 20-21 George V, ch. 10.

³⁹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Agreement with Alberta," Annual Report, 1918-19 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1919), Appendix No. 12, Part V, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁰Public Archives, RG 22, B, File Y300, Letter, B. C. Attorney-General to Deputy Minister of Interior, July 23, 1914.

⁴¹Public Archives, RG 22, B, File Y300, Letter, C. W. Cross, Alberta Attorney-General to Secretary of Interior, November 14, 1908.

⁴²This provision was to ensure federal jurisdiction over certain freehold areas in the parks. The most important of these were the coal lands around Anthracite which had been sold before Banff Park was reserved. Although the Hudson's Bay Company had revested in the Crown all land to which it was entitled in the national parks in 1926, the railway companies owned the right of ways and the adjacent station grounds.

⁴³Canada, An Act respecting the transfer of Natural Resources to the Province of Alberta, 1930 20-21 George V, ch. 3.

⁴⁴Future developments are outside the scope of this thesis, but a discussion of the problems arising from the federal administration of townsites follows in Chapter IV (see supra, p. 107).

⁴⁵Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1930 (Ottawa, 1930), vol. 1, p. 829.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL PARKS POLICY

When Macdonald's Conservative administration created the first national parks in 1885-1886, it was embarking on what was actually a new sphere of government activity. For the Government to take action in reserving these scenic areas was quite a radical departure in this period which was characterized by much uncontrolled and wasteful exploitation of natural resources by private enterprise in both Canada and the United States. But, according to A.R. Byrne, the establishment and development of the first parks was coloured by contemporary frontier values: the hot springs and spectacular scenery were merely regarded as exploitable resources.¹ The concept of a national park as a preserve of original landscape was conspicuously absent. As J.B. Harkin maintained, many years later, the principles underlying national parks policy were slowly developed over several decades:

At the outset the main impulse was to set these areas aside; to make them as public possessions. What specific purposes the parks should serve, what ideals should mould them, what policy should be adopted for development--these objectives were only dimly understood. The policy has had to be gradually evolved.²

In endeavouring to formulate a national parks policy, the Government had only one precedent to follow--that of the United States. The policy for the development of the hot springs at Banff was patterned after the regulations drawn up for the Arkansas Hot Springs though somewhat modified to avoid the management difficulties which had been experienced there. The Rocky Mountains Park Act bears a close resemblance to the Bill which established Yellowstone National Park as do its first general regulations which were issued in 1889.

But although Canadian policy was definitely influenced by and able to benefit from the American experience, it embodied certain marked differences from the beginning. John Ise, who has written a critical history of American national park policy, points out that Canada has always placed much more emphasis on the development of tourist and recreational facilities and has been slower than the United States in achieving effective protection of her parks and wildlife.³ The inviolable nature of national parks as wilderness preserves received much earlier recognition in the United States. Vigorous attempts were made to keep the railway and other commercial interests out of the parks particularly Yellowstone. According to the tenets of American policy set forth after the creation of the National Parks Service in 1916, "national interest must dictate all decisions affecting public or private enterprise in the parks."⁴ Significantly, though twenty-year leases were granted for the construction

of tourist accommodation, no leases for summer homes were allowed in the parks. Initially the Canadian national parks were administered much like the American forest reserves where more commercial and industrial development was allowed than in their national parks.

The commercial tone of early Canadian park policy resulted largely from the influential role played by the railway companies in developing the first national parks. In fact, as previously mentioned, the first parks owed their existence almost entirely to the CPR, which was interested in the preservation of wilderness only in as far as it would contribute to the promotion and development of the parks as tourist resorts. The CPR built luxurious resort hotels in "its" parks and undertook most of the initial publicity to advertise the parks' scenic attractions; the Grand Trunk Pacific intended to follow the same policy for the development of Jasper Park. The railways were also behind most of the industrial development which took place in the early period of park history.⁵ Coinciding as it did with the opening of Western Canada to large-scale settlement, the utilization of valuable mineral resources was not considered incompatible with the maintenance of the parks as tourist and health resorts.

Initially, the hot springs at Banff had been reserved because of their "sanitary" value. Strong emphasis was placed on the development of a health resort as the springs were reported to have curative properties of great benefit to

cripples and invalids. During the debate on the Parks Act in 1887, Mr. Mitchell, in expressing the hope that the springs would become "a great sanitary establishment", advocated the construction of "an immense hospital...where the diseased,⁶ the sick, and the suffering...might resort for relief." "The Government will render immense service to those who suffer," declared Senator J.J. Ross, "by making provision for their comfort and furnishing amusements and other means of advancing⁷ their recovery."

Sir John A. Macdonald envisioned the creation of a fashionable "spa" at the springs which would attract an international clientele. The Arkansas Hot Springs were then at the height of their popularity and "taking the waters"⁸ was quite an institution in both Europe and the United States. The financial possibilities of such a development were not lost on the Prime Minister who enthusiastically declared:

I do not suppose in any portion of the world there can be found a spot, taken altogether, which combines in as great a degree not only large pecuniary advantage to the Dominion, but much prestige to the whole country by attracting the population not only on this continent, but of Europe to this place.⁹

Thomas White, Minister of the Interior, corroborated this view, outlining the Government's intention to frame regulations that would allow for the development of the park as an attractive and respectable resort. Private residence was to be encouraged in the park, the Prime Minister in

As I understand, a portion of the park offers some beautiful sites for villas, and I believe the plan of the architect lays these out, to be leased to people of wealth, who will erect handsome buildings upon them.¹⁰

This policy of laying out resort townsites was later extended to other mountain parks.

Thus, the original tenet of the Government's national park policy was the creation of successful tourist and health resorts in the Rocky Mountains. Basing its developmental policy on the belief that the majority of people, Canadian or others, who visited the parks were used to some degree of comfort and would not take a park tour unless assured of some degree of convenience and safety, everything within the means of the Department was to be done to enable tourists to enjoy the many and varied beauties of the parks with the least possible discomfort.¹¹ Early park regulations showed far greater concern for the standard of tourist services, than the protection of forest and wildlife.

Constant need to justify the parks economically was also partially responsible for the emphasis on commercial aspects of the parks. During the park debate, the Government received sharp criticism for expending large sums on a project which seemed to promise no financial return.¹² In view of the financial state of the country and large deficits in the Government's budget, some felt that the park, so far removed from the main center of population, was an extravagance which the country could ill afford. Mr. Davis, an M.P. from the Maritimes which was most acutely affected by

the general depression, shrewdly observed:

I doubt whether the people either in this end of the Dominion or the maritime end will sanction what seems to me an unnecessary expenditure of public money. The expenditure of this large sum is not in the interest of the public at large....It is entirely for the benefit of the wealthy.¹³

If by modern standards the appropriations appear niggardly, the necessity of limiting government expenditures resulted in an attempt to develop the revenue potential of the parks with a view to making them self-sustaining. While restricting itself to the provision of essential facilities, the Government intended to lease land to private individuals for the construction of places of business, tourist accommodation and summer homes, and to rent the use of the spring waters to private bathing establishments. According to the Minister of the Interior, this system would "furnish a revenue quite sufficient to defray the expense of supervision and management, and also pay a liberal interest on all expenditures."¹⁴

The park superintendents appear to have appreciated the need for economy and were always careful to justify any additional expenditures. On relinquishing his post as Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park in 1907, Howard Douglas declared:

During the eleven years since I assumed the office of superintendent, I have been extremely careful in the expenditure made of the appropriation for the improvement of Canada's National Park and feel assured that good value has been received for every dollar expended.¹⁵

TABLE I*

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE AND REVENUE, ROCKY MOUNTAINS
PARK, FISCAL YEARS 1885-1895, INCLUSIVE

Year	Expenditure	Revenue
1886.....	\$4,500.00	-
1887.....	36,170.97	-
1888.....	36,612.48	2,951.58
1889.....	24,684.20	2,528.73
1890.....	19,286.61	1,094.37
1891.....	16,999.84	2,397.35
1892.....	8,000.00	3,648.45
1893.....	5,700.00	4,983.23
1894.....	7,000.00	2,523.92
1895.....	6,000.00	2,321.87
Total	\$164,954.10	\$22,449.50

*All tables have been compiled from the Annual Reports
of the Department of the Interior.

TABLE II

ANNUAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR DOMINION PARKS
FISCAL YEARS 1915-1925, INCLUSIVE

Year	Appropriation
1915.....	\$681,730.00
1916.....	349,670.00
1917.....	350,000.00
1918.....	300,000.00
1919.....	300,000.00
1920.....	566,000.00
1921.....	666,000.00
1922.....	800,000.00
1923.....	966,000.00
1924.....	1,250,980.00
1925.....	1,000,000.00
Total	\$7,230,880.00

TABLE III*

GOVERNMENT REVENUE FROM MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARKS
1911-1912 TO 1929-1930, BY SELECTED YEARS

Park	1911-1912	1914-1915	1919-1920	1924-1925	1929-1930
Banff	\$52,027.63	\$35,380.21	\$48,330.58	\$103,823.37	\$148,851.63
Glacier	-	345.71	18.50	395.00	142.23
Jasper	3,492.85	1,221.65	21,227.93	9,263.23	35,252.72
Kootenay	-	-	-	4,989.13	14,431.51
Mount Revelstoke ..	-	7.00	-	-	-
Waterton Lakes	284.68	257.46	3,848.42	4,119.82	6,926.42
Yoho	491.08	656.25	828.45	2,377.78	3,760.00
Total ...	\$56,296.24	\$36,868.28	\$74,253.88	\$124,968.33	\$209,364.51

*Revenue derived mainly from rent, timber and other industrial dues,
and licence fees.

During the First World War, appropriations for the national parks were cut by over fifty per cent, a greater reduction than in any other active branch of a public department.¹⁶ Although this barely allowed for ordinary maintenance, the establishment of several alien labour camps in the parks made some development work possible.¹⁷

While industrial development within the parks might have an undesirable effect, it did have the advantage of realizing a substantial revenue. A close examination of the revenue derived from Rocky Mountains Park between 1906 and 1911 reveals that the largest single source of income was from coal lands: in 1910, for example, returns from coal leases accounted for \$34,559.07 out of a total annual revenue of \$65,513.58.¹⁸ Although the Parks Branch ceased to collect revenue from coal lands after 1913, several years later timber dues for Jasper Park amounted to \$18,057.25 out a total revenue of just over \$21,000. For many years, grazing permits were the largest source of income in Waterton Lakes National Park.

The perpetual need to make the national parks economically viable contributed to an increasing emphasis on their tremendous potential as prime tourist attractions. Shortly after assuming control of the Parks Branch in 1911, J.B. Harkin realized that to secure adequate appropriations proof of the parks' tourist revenue potential would be far more effective than philosophical rhetoric about the intrinsic values of wilderness. Although tourism as an industry was still in its infancy, the Commissioner emphasized that it was already important enough to make the national

parks an economic factor in the prosperity of the country.

Pointing out that the value of tourist travel ranked fourth in the revenue derived from Canada's natural resources in 1913, he maintained:

National parks provide the chief means of bringing to Canada a stream of tourists and...tourists' gold. With the natural attractions and wonders possessed by Canadian parks in particular and Canada in general, it seems obvious that a proper and adequate development of Dominion parks means that millions of dollars annually will be brought into Canada by tourists.¹⁹

Furthermore:

It is unique in this regard that while it brings in large sums of money it means that the country does not give in return anything which represents a loss to the country. When wheat is sold we sell a portion of the fertility of our soil. But the tourist who pays his money to see our mountains, lakes and falls, our canyons and glaciers, not only leaves his money but also leaves whole and unimpaired all those natural attractions which brought him here. These beauties remain forever to attract more tourists and more tourists' dollars.²⁰

Claiming that the tourist trade would help Canada reduce her war debt and adverse balance of trade with the United States, Harkin made elaborate calculations to show that the export value of the scenery per acre in Rocky Mountains Park was almost three times that of the exportable wheat surplus in 1915.²¹ While the total government expenditure on national parks by 1920 had been just over five million dollars, the Commissioner declared that the entire cost of maintenance and development was little more than one-third of the foreign revenue brought into Canada by the mountain parks in the single year of 1920. Furthermore, tourist traffic had the auxiliary effect of attracting capital investment and immigrants to Canada.²²

But Canada had to compete for American tourists with European countries such as Switzerland and France who, having long been aware of the commercial benefits of tourism, were spending large sums to attract visitors from all over the world. Although the Canadian National Travel and Immigration Association was formed in 1913, Harkin pressed for the establishment of a federal Tourist Bureau to consolidate and organize the promotion of tourist travel which had been left almost entirely to the transportation companies which were naturally partisan in their efforts. As the Commissioner placed a great deal of emphasis on the value of publicity, the Parks Branch itself began to publish and circulate information about the parks.

Harkin's belief that the most successful publicity appealed to people's hearts and emotions was embodied in one of the Park Branch's first efforts entitled Just a Sprig of Mountain Heather.²³ Published in several thousand copies in 1914, this attractive booklet, intended to acquaint the public with the real purposes of the national parks, had a sprig of pressed red mountain heather on its cover which had been laboriously collected by park officials. Besides preparing numerous descriptive pamphlets on the scenic attractions, flora and fauna of all the parks, the Branch began sending a lecturer to the East and through the Prairies to advertise the national wonderlands. Publicity work had to be curtailed during the war, but afterward the Publicity Division actively expanded, working in conjunction with the Publicity Branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce. Its duties consisted of preparing and distributing thousands of illustrated park

pamphlets, writing special magazine and newspaper articles, and circulating photographic enlargements, films and slides; lecture tours were organized throughout Canada and the United States and efforts made to have attractive displays at national and international exhibitions such as the Empire Exhibition at Wembley, England in 1925.

One of Commissioner Harkin's most farsighted actions in endeavouring to increase traffic to the mountains resulted from his realization of the revolutionary impact of the automobile on public travel. As early as 1913, he noted:

It is a well established fact that most motorists spend their holidays in their cars. Many facilities already exist which will bring the motorist to the foothills of the Rockies. What motorist will be able to resist the call of the Canadian Rockies when it is known that he can go through them on first-class motor roads. And what a revenue this country will obtain when thousands of automobiles are traversing the Parks.²⁴

Consequently, the construction of "first-class" scenic routes through the mountains and to major points of interest became an important aspect of national park policy; it also necessitated the provision of campsites and other conveniences suited to this form of travel.

Concurrent with the developing appreciation of the commercial potential of the parks, however, was the growth of the concept of national parks as wilderness preserves. Originally, the movement for the conservation of natural resources in Canada received its impetus from the United States. In 1909, President Roosevelt invited Canada and Mexico to the historic Conference on the Conservation of Natural Resources with the hope of preparing a general

plan which could be applied to the whole continent. At this conference, which climaxed the conservation movement of the Progressive Era, the idea was expounded that wilderness itself has an intrinsic value and that places of outstanding beauty and interest belong by right to the whole people.²⁵ Furthermore, as the onrush of settlement pushed the wilderness farther and farther back, destroying much of the virginal beauty which once had characterized the whole land, national parks had an essential role to play in preserving areas of primitive nature for generations to come. Preservation, emphasized Harkin, was a major tenet of national park policy:

These great reservations exist to preserve examples of original Canada, the Canada that existed for hundreds of years before man began to destroy its natural beauties. Everywhere else, it is recognized, nature must gradually but inevitably give way to the economic pressure of civilization, but in the national parks at least, primitive beauty may remain untouched and unscarred by the hand of man.²⁶

From the beginning all national parks had been intended to serve as forest and wildlife preserves, but early appropriations were inadequate to ensure effective protection. Eventually, however, great destruction from forest fire and the imminent disappearance of many species of wildlife prompted government action. In 1909, the Conservation Commission was established to examine the question of general resource conservation in Canada, while one of the first concerns of the Parks Branch was the creation of an effective fire and game protection service. Owing to the consequent diminution of forest fire and increase in wildlife, Harkin declared that the parks were becoming "national

museums of primitive America."²⁷ The national parks received increasing recognition as "outdoor laboratories" where scientists could study the behaviour of flora and fauna in an undisturbed habitat under natural conditions.

Closely akin to their function as wilderness preserves was the idea of the humanitarian purpose the national parks would serve in making the Canadian people "physically fit, mentally efficient, and morally elevated."²⁸ This concept, stressed by Harkin as being the primary purpose of national parks, received its impetus from the "Recreation Movement" which flourished in the United States and Europe during the first decade of the twentieth century. Essentially a reaction against the vices of rapid industrialization, it emphasized that modern social and industrial conditions were resulting in a suppression or perversion of the "play spirit" which, in contributing to the degeneration of the individual, threatened the well-being of the nation. Lamented one American writer:

In America, while our minds have been drawn away to material conquests and accumulations, we have, all unconsciously, forgotten how to live; we have lost the traditions of play. In country-side and city we have cherished the ideals of work, not play; we have apologized for leisure instead of making it divine.²⁹

It gradually became acknowledged that human beings could not work properly under the pressures of modern civilization without some respite for recreation. Furthermore, the recognition that relaxation in the out-of-doors provided the most beneficial form of recreation led to the growth of a wilderness

cult which glorified the advantages of a simple life, close to nature. John Muir, the champion of wilderness preservation in the United States, expounded on its revitalizing effects:

The tendency nowadays to wander in the wilderness is delightful to see. Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home; that wilderness is a necessity and that mountain parks and reservations are useful, not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life. Awakening from the stupifying effects of the vice of over-industry and the deadly apathy of luxury, they are trying as best they can to mix and enrich their own little outgoings with those of nature, and to get rid of rust and disease.³⁰

Commission Harkin enthusiastically declared that the parks constituted a national recognition of the necessity for recreation in the out-of-doors:

They exist in order that every citizen of Canada may satisfy his soul-craving for nature and nature's beauty; that he may absorb the energy and power of the sunshine and the fresh air; that nature's smiles may be reflected in him and that he may sing with the winds and laugh with the mountain torrents; that he may absorb the poise and restfulness of the forests; that he may steep his soul in the brilliance of the wild flowers and the sublimity of the mountain peaks; that he may develop in himself the bouyancy, the joy and the activity he sees in the wild animals; that he may stock his brain and his mind as he would a warehouse with the raw materials of intelligent optimism, great thoughts, noble ideals; that he may be made better, happier, and healthier.³¹

In Jasper Park particularly, cottage sites were to be available for such a small rental as to be within reach of the humblest citizens which would provide some of "our suffering poor" with the opportunity for a least temporary rehabilitation.³²

J.B. Harkin also believed that the parks, in an unsuspected way, were contributing to the growth of a national consciousness

by strengthening the Canadian's appreciation of the beauty of his country--love of wilderness formed an intrinsic if latent part of the Canadian mentality:

It is a spirit vague and inarticulate but reaching out in such efforts as the national parks movement for cleared expression. To understand it one must remember that love of country in Canada is not based, as in older lands, upon the settled peace of the country-side with its quiet beauty of copse and garden and farm. It is a love born in the breasts of those adventurous spirits who came first and conquered the wilderness--a love of the primitive, the untamed and the wild. In their struggle to make a home in this new country the forefathers of present day Canadians had to conquer the wilderness and they came at length not only to lose their fear of the wilderness but to love it with a deep though usually unsuspected passion that has been transmitted to their sons.³³

In preserving our wilderness heritage, national parks fostered pride of country for patriotism and basically inspired by one's love for the beauty of his country. They also served as bulwarks against the rise of materialism declared Prime Minister Mackenzie King at the opening of a new national park³⁴ in 1928:

In the building of Canadian national life and the moulding of our national character, it is of the utmost importance that we should cultivate an appreciation of all that is beautiful in our physical environment. In a young country so amply endowed with natural resources there is always a danger that we may turn to the gods of the market place and sacrifice the beautiful on the altar of utility.³⁵

Thus, under Harkin's administration, national park policy was to be directed toward the realization of two main objectives--to produce "dividends in gold and human units."³⁶ The Commissioner noted with pleasure the developing public appreciation of the national parks during the 1920's. Fifteen years ago, he declared

in 1927, the sound philosophical and economic principles behind the creation of the parks had scarcely been recognized, Canadians, as a whole, being indifferent to their great possessions. But recent years had seen a remarkable change in the public's attitude: the widespread growth of travel had given places of outstanding scenery a new interest and value while alarm at the changes caused by the rapid extension of our industrial civilization had emphasized the necessity for conserving a few untouched areas. In 1923, a group of citizens organized the Canadian National Parks Association "to foster and consolidate park appreciation so that we may form contra propaganda to any attempt on our National Parks."³⁷

Visitor statistics reveal that the mountain parks were increasingly well patronized by the public. From the early 1900's hotels in Rocky Mountains Park frequently enlarged their facilities to accommodate a rapidly growing tourist traffic. A glance at the carefully-kept guest registers shows an amazing number of visitors from all over the world though the majority were Canadian and American. In fact, a leading New York correspondent declared in 1908 that "between New York and Shanghai...there is no spot more cosmopolitan than the rotunda of the CPR hotel at Banff."³⁸ The activities of the Alpine Club of Canada, formed in 1905, did much to advertise the attractions of the Rockies and the Selkirks to mountaineers and nature-lovers the world over. An outstanding year for visitors was 1915 when large crowds passed through the parks on their way to and from the Pacific Exhibition in San Francisco thanks to some skillful publicity work by the Canadian railways and the Parks Branch.

TABLE IV

ANNUAL NUMBER OF VISITORS TO ROCKY MOUNTAINS PARK AS
SHOWN BY HOTEL REGISTERS, 1888-1889 TO 1920-1921,
BY SELECTED YEARS

Hotel	1888-1889	1894-1895	1906-1907	1913-1914	1920-1921
Banff Springs (CPR)	2,000	1,665	9,804	13,193	14,438
Sanitarium	1,645	2,500	4,776	5,375	4,500
Beattie's	-	373	-	-	-
Grand View Villa	-	386	887	621	-
Alberta	-	-	3,720	5,249	2,019
King Edward	-	-	4,321	5,346	7,682
Hot Springs Hydropathic ..	-	-	630	597	384
Mount Royal	-	-	-	5,318	6,522
Park	-	-	1,367	-	-
Homestead	-	-	-	1,300	2,600
Chateau Lake Louise	-	-	-	12,826	16,737
Other*	-	-	3,230	11,000	24,000
Total.....	3,645	4,924	28,735	60,825	78,882

*Includes summer cottagers, excursionists, and later motorists.

TABLE V

ANNUAL NUMBER OF VISITORS TO MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARKS
1920-1921 TO 1930-1931, BY SELECTED YEARS

Park	1920-1921	1923-1924	1925-1926	1928-1929	1930-1931
Banff.....	78,882	94,930	124,749	236,801	188,443
Glacier.....	3,779	4,176	3,956	1,000	1,000
Jasper	10,000	10,072	15,765	14,000	13,783
Kootenay	-	-	46,340	33,238	43,125
Mount Revelstoke	4,000	3,500	11,320	8,800	5,000
Waterton Lakes	13,750	16,695	9,041	26,002	44,827
Yoho.....	2,500	1,891	6,245	27,140	23,291
Total..	112,911	131,264	217,416	346,981	319,469

The First World War naturally curtailed travel to the parks, but the closing of Europe partially diverted the attention of the American tourist to the attractions Canada had to offer. After the war, tourism expanded rapidly. Certainly the development of mountain highways played an important role in increasing the number of visitors. After the completion of the Banff-Windermere and the Banff-Golden roads during the 1920's, the largest traffic was recorded in the three-park unit of Banff, Yoho and Kootenay which were linked by a circular route. The number of cars registered at the eastern gate of Banff Park jumped from 3,492 in 1922 to 32,982 in 1929, while the number of permits issued at the Mount Rundle campsite rose rapidly from 73 in 1917 to 6,017 in 1927.³⁹ Jasper Park gained steadily in popularity during the 1920's, however, as did Waterton which gained an international reputation through its close ties with the American national park just across the border. According to Commissioner Harkin, the most gratifying feature of the great increase in visitors was that "a more democratic use" was being made of the parks, particularly by Canadians:

Time was when visitors consisted almost wholly of wealthy tourists who made the parks a stopping place for a few days on a transcontinental tour. The coming of the motor and the establishment of motor campsites and small bungalow hotels in practically every one of the parks has brought the national playgrounds within reach of thousands.⁴⁰

Great hordes of tourists, however, threatened the very aspect of the parks from which they were to receive such benefit. Toward the end of this period, Harkin began to appreciate the difficulties created by this dilemma:

A constant vigilance will be required to preserve their wilderness and unspoiled character, to develop a policy which will permit of the freest use, but which will guard what is, perhaps, their richest endowment.⁴¹

The increasing attention to be given to the preservational aspect of national park policy was embodied in the statement of general purpose of the National Parks Act of 1930:

The Parks are hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education, and enjoyment... and such Parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.⁴²

FOOTNOTES

¹A.R. Byrne, "Man and Landscape Change in the Banff Area" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1964), p. 112.

²J.B. Harkin, "Canada's National Parks," Handbook of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1924), p. 95.

³John Ise, Our National Park Policy: A Critical History (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1961), p. 396.

⁴Ibid., p. 194

⁵See Chapter V for a more detailed discussion of industrial development in the national parks.

⁶Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Debates, 1887 (Ottawa, 1887), p. 195.

⁷Canada, Parliament, Debates of the Senate, 1887 (Ottawa, 1887), p. 113.

⁸Mabel B. Williams, The Banff-Jasper Highway (Saskatoon: H.R. Larson, 1963 [copyright 1948]), p. 12.

⁹Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1887, p. 223.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 245.

¹¹Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks," Annual Report, 1911-1912 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1912), Part IV, p. 4.

¹²See Table 1, supra, p. 64.

¹³Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1887, p. 240.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 244.

¹⁵Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park," Annual Report, 1907-1908, (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1908), Part V, p. 13.

¹⁶Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1919, vol. 6, p. 4051.

¹⁷Four prisoner-of-war camps were established in the parks at Banff, Jasper, Field and Revelstoke which contained a total of about 800 men. They worked on road and bridge construction and general clearing operations.

¹⁸All statistics taken from the Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior.

¹⁹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks," Annual Report, 1913-1914 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1914), Part V, p. 4.

²⁰"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1914-1915, p. 4.

²¹Calculations based on statistics for 1915:
65,000 visitors to Rocky Mountains Park x \$250 (an estimate of amount each spent) = \$16,000,000 +
1,152,000 acres (total area of Park) = \$13.88 per acre.
\$74,293,548 (total value of wheat exports) +
15,109,415 acres (total area under cultivation) =
\$4.91 per acre.

²²"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1920-1921, p. 2.

²³Mabel B. Williams, private interview, London, Ont., July 1, 1968.

²⁴"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1912-1913, p. 5.

²⁵Williams, Banff-Jasper Highway, p. 13.

²⁶Harkin, "Canada's National Parks," Handbook of Canada, p. 98.

²⁷Ibid., p. 100.

²⁸"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1913-1914, p. 6.

²⁹"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1914-1915, p. 6.

³⁰"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1912-1913, p. 5.

³¹"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1915-1916, p. 6.

³²"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1913-1914,
p. 68.

³³Harkin, "Canada's National Parks," Handbook of
Canada, p. 98.

³⁴Prince Albert National Park in Saskatchewan.

³⁵"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1928-1929,
p. 121.

³⁶"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1915-1916,
p. 9.

³⁷Canada, Public Archives, R.B. Bennett Papers,
Film 241, pp. 296315-296317.

³⁸"Report of Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park,"
Annual Report, 1907-1908, p. 4.

³⁹All statistics taken from the Annual Reports of the
Department of the Interior.

⁴⁰"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1924-1925,
p. 90.

⁴¹"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1927-1928,
p. 80.

⁴²Canada, An Act respecting National Parks, 1930
20-21 George V, ch. 10.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL PARK POLICY: TOURISM AND TOWNSITES

As has been emphasized, the need to justify the national parks economically contributed to their promotion as tourist resorts. Government appropriations were not sufficient to enable park officials to carry out all the proposed improvements, but it is unlikely that complete public development would have been viewed as desirable even if it had been possible.

In formulating its developmental policy, the Government early gave top priority to the construction of a comprehensive system of roads and trails to provide access to major scenic attractions within the parks. This work absorbed most of the annual appropriations owing to the difficult terrain and the heavy snowfall which necessitated extensive repairs every spring. Government surveyors endeavoured to select those routes which interfered least with natural conditions and yet afforded the sightseer the easiest, most direct and safest trip. "My object as far as was practicable," explained Howard Douglas, "was in all cases to locate new roads so as to provide the most striking views of the scenery in the park."¹ Bridges were rustically designed to blend with the surroundings and log seats placed at vantage

points. In Jasper Park particularly, an added impetus to hiking was the erection of several rest houses so that "the tourist or traveller desiring to spend a considerable time in exploration may be assured of a haven of refuge after an arduous day's climb and tramp."² Wherever possible loop drives to major points of interest were created to enable the visitor to return by a different route. Park officials also appreciated that roads and trails formed valuable and economical fire breaks.

The construction of the first roads, it must be remembered, took place during the era of the horse-and-buggy. Although narrow, unpaved and frequently tortuous, they could adequately accommodate the much slower pace of the tally-hos (high-rigged carriages drawn by four horse tandems) which were the common mode of conveyance in resort communities. Traffic regulations provided an added precaution: no person was allowed to ride or drive across any park bridge faster than at a walk, while "furious" riding or driving on public roads was strictly prohibited.

Surprisingly, motor travel in Rocky Mountains Park was originally discouraged. In 1903, Superintendent Douglas received an application from a party in Calgary who wanted to bring an automobile to Banff to carry tourists over the roads. The CPR and livery stable owners, however, sought to protect their business by keeping motor traffic out of the park. William Pearce, one of several officials consulted, felt the two modes of transportation could not be successfully

combined as autos would frighten the horses seriously endangering life; furthermore, the encouragement of horseback riding "contributed to developing a desirable class of horses valuable from the military point of view."³ As a result, by an Order in Council of July 27, 1905, the use of automobiles was prohibited within the park.

In 1911, however, in the face of growing pressure, the Government reversed its position but passed stringent rules for the use of motor vehicles in Rocky Mountains Park. Cars were restricted to the Banff-Calgary Coach road and the main roads leading to various hotels, the general speed limit of fifteen miles per hour being reduced to eight upon entering the townsite.⁴ Every motor vehicle had to be registered after 1912 at a fee of \$5.00 for the season or \$1.00 for a single trip. Finally in 1915, all roads in the national parks deemed suitable for motor traffic were opened to the public; by the end of the period under discussion, the general speed limit had been raised to thirty miles per hour, dropping to twenty in the townsites.

Motor travel rapidly became very popular, the Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park noting in 1918 that "the automobile has practically driven the more picturesque but slower tally-ho off the roads."⁵ But the advent of the motor car also meant increased expenditures on the development of new and better highways. Harkin emphasized that the construction of good roads within the parks to link up with major

auto routes was of paramount importance.⁶

The extensive network of roads and trails gradually constructed throughout Rocky Mountains Park began with the building of a carriage road from Banff Station to the hot springs in 1886. The coming of motor traffic necessitated the widening, straightening, and gravelling of all old roads. The Calgary-Banff coach road, the park's first outside connection completed in 1911, became the first link in the proposed Banff-Windermere highway. By 1916, the Government had finished the park portion of this route via Castle Mountain to the Vermilion Pass, an extension from Castle Mountain into the Lake Louise-Moraine Lake area being opened in 1921.

After the war, the Dominion took over the construction of the British Columbia section of the Banff-Windermere highway which was officially opened on June 30, 1923 in an impressive ceremony at Kootenay Crossing in the newly-formed national park. Hailed as an outstanding achievement, the new road completed a great six thousand-mile highway system through Canada and the United States, connecting with the "California-Banff Bee Line" and the "Grand Canyon Route" to provide access to twelve American national parks and three Canadian.⁷ Work was begun on a system of trails through Kootenay Park to encourage visitors to remain longer instead of just passing through.

Construction of a safe system of roads and trails in Yoho and Glacier Parks, begun in the early 1900's, entailed much difficult road work. The road up the Yoho Valley to

Takakkaw Falls involved a spectacular switchback while the drive from Field to Emerald Lake was much praised as being one of the most beautiful tours in the parks.⁸ Although touring cars were first introduced in 1921, Yoho remained closed to outside traffic until the completion of the Kicking Horse Trail in 1927. This road, utilizing portions of the CPR road-bed abandoned with the building of the Spiral Tunnels, ran through magnificent scenery from Lake Louise to Field, linking up with the provincial road from Golden at the park's western boundary to become "one of the finest loop routes in the entire world."⁹ In Glacier Park, frequent mud and snow-slides made road-building very expensive; construction and maintenance of a loop trail and carriage road from Glacier House to the Nakimu Caves absorbed most of the allotted funds. After the completion of the Connaught Tunnel, the Government built a road from the hotel to the new station and intended to convert the abandoned road-bed into a scenic drive. But Glacier Park remained isolated from outside motor traffic: it was bypassed in 1929 when the Big Bend route was chosen over the more dangerous Rogers Pass for construction of a highway from Golden to Revelstoke to form the last link in the western section of a trans-Canada highway.

Construction in Jasper National Park originally centered on the development of an extensive trail system, the area being inaccessible to motor traffic. After the amalgamation of the railways, part of the abandoned road-bed was incorporated into the park portion of the projected Edmonton-

Vancouver highway begun in 1923, while a scenic auto drive was completed to Mount Edith Cavell¹⁰ the following year. In the late 1920's at Harkin's instigation, the Parks Branch undertook initial paving experiments with material from the Athabasca Tar Sands which was reported to be cheaper than asphalt and yet give a satisfactory surface.¹¹ Though long contemplated, construction on the famous Banff-Jasper highway did not begin until the 1930's.

Motor roads were essential to Waterton Lakes Park because it had no railway service. The maintenance and improvement of the access road from the southern towns of Pincher Creek and Cardston required constant effort, but by 1927, the Government had extended the park highway to the Akamina Pass on the British Columbia border intending to eventually link up with the Banff-Windermere. Construction was also begun on the creation of a circle tour route in conjunction with the American Glacier National Park, while a system of trails to such spots as Bertha and Cameron Lakes was gradually extended and improved.

While the federal government had taken over the construction of the road to the summit of Mount Revelstoke in 1914, the difficult terrain which resulted in heavy repair work meant that progress was slow. Finally completed in 1927, the eighteen-mile road was officially opened by the Prince of Wales during his Canadian tour. The park area became accessible to outside traffic after the completion of a road from Revelstoke to the Okanagan valley in 1922.

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF MILES OF ROADS AND TRAILS IN
THE MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARKS, 1930

Park	Motor	Roads Other	Total	Trails
Banff	105	18	123	621
Glacier	9	-	9	105-1/2
Jasper	73	33	106	754-1/2
Kootenay	63	8	71	115-1/2
Mount Revelstoke	19	-	19	35-1/2
Waterton Lakes	20	14	34	222
Yoho	50	5	55	170
Total mileage	339	78	417	2,024

Source: "Report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks,"
Annual Report of Department of Interior, 1930-1931,
Part IV, p. 94.

Since the object in reserving the hot springs had been to protect them from private exploitation, the Government was responsible for determining the policy to be adopted for their use. In 1886, John Hall, Secretary of the Interior, reported on the detrimental effects of uncontrolled private management after investigating the operations at the Arkansas Hot Springs:

I cannot refrain from expressing my conviction that absolute government control, and management under medical supervision, is the only solution of the question that will ensure the maximum benefit to those sufferers requiring the aid of the Hot Springs of Arkansas.¹²

In drawing up its policy, however, the Canadian government attempted to recognize the two-fold objective of "securing to the public the utmost benefit which can be derived from the waters without a loss to the revenue."¹³

From the beginning, the Dominion undertook sole development of the hot springs known as the Cave and Basin, which, fast becoming "a favourite resort for bathers", required some improvements before they could be beneficially utilized. Originally the only mode of access to the Cave had been through a hole in the roof, necessitating a dangerous descent of about forty-five feet by ladder to the water below. In the winter of 1886, a tunnel was driven into the Cave, a move which provoked a protest from some Calgary citizens who feared the destruction of the Cave's natural beauty.¹⁴ Subsequently, the treacherous nature of the rock resulted in more extensive modifications than had initially been contemplated: substantial masonry walls were built around both natural pools which were

15
enlarged and deepened.

The increasing popularity of particularly the Basin soon rendered existing swimming facilities inadequate: a new pool was completed in 1904 and repeated additions made to the rustic, Swiss-style bath house originally opened in 1887. After repeated urging from the park superintendent, the Government finally recognized the need for a completely new structure, commissioning a foremost American architect to draw up a comprehensive plan in 1911. Completed several years later, the attractive new building of native blue limestone provided dressing-room accommodation for 132 persons, the new pool being one of the largest of its kind in Canada.

At the Upper Hot Springs, however, the sulphur water was originally leased to private bath houses, subject to stringent regulations, to save on government expenditures. The Superintendent was given free access for the frequent inspection of all bath houses and, upon two weeks notice, could shut off the water supply of any lessee in arrears for rent or otherwise violating the regulations. 16 As early as 1888, there were three private bath houses in the immediate vicinity of the springs; the Government constructed the works necessary to convey the water to these establishments and also piped hot sulphur water to the bath houses of the CPR hotel and the Sanitarium, the two major hotels in the area.

In 1903, however, after the Grand View Hotel the most substantial building at the springs was destroyed by fire, the

Government decided to take over development at the Upper Hot Springs. The well-equipped bath house and adjacent outdoor pool opened in 1905 were overcrowded from the start. Since these springs were especially patronized by persons afflicted with rheumatism and kindred ailments,¹⁷ Superintendent Douglas advocated the immediate erection of a modern hydropathic establishment with a resident physician in charge. As a result, the Government also began construction of enlarged facilities at the Upper Hot Springs in 1911. Hot sulphur water was still rented to various hotels at a fixed rate,¹⁸ however; in fact, in 1913, the proprietor of the Sanitarium Dr. Brett received permission to establish works to bottle and sell mineral water.¹⁹

Even the new facilities at the hot springs, which remained one of Banff Park's outstanding attractions, were frequently taxed to capacity during the summer months. The Superintendent estimated in 1928 that over the past decade the number of visitors to the Cave and Basin had increased by 85 percent, those to the Upper Hot Springs by 100 percent.²⁰

The Government also reserved the right to develop hot springs located in other national parks. Construction began on a new bath house and pool at Radium Hot Springs in 1927, the old buildings, built by the former owners, having become outdated and inadequate. In Jasper Park, the tortuous route up the Fiddle Creek canyon to Miette Hot Springs prevented the Government from undertaking much development until

the 1940's. Nevertheless, numerous people packed in tents and supplies to obtain the benefits of the natural hot sulphur pools; in 1918, for example, over twenty-five persons camped at the springs all summer, numerous cures being reported.²¹

In Glacier Park, the Government endeavoured to make the Nakimu Caves, an intriguing natural phenomena created by water erosion, safe and accessible for tourists. Mr. Deutschman who discovered the caves in 1903 acted as guide and caretaker, undertaking much of the construction of stairways, guardrails, and lighting arrangements himself. Minor development continued throughout the 1920's after the discovery of several new caves picturesquely dubbed "Grand Canyon" and "Satan's Palace."

Although intending to leave the provision of tourist accommodation and other services to private enterprise, the Government was prompted to construct a few other facilities. In 1890, Superintendent Stewart noted that "the want of a museum containing geological, botanical and other specimens of the natural production of the mountains is very much felt by scientific and other persons visiting the Park."²² The original museum, opened several years later, largely depended on private contributions for its exhibits but proved so popular that new quarters were soon required. Opened in 1903, the new museum building, which also housed the superintendent's office, was described as "one of the most picturesque features of the park...the most handsome of all western public buildings."²³

The same year, an observatory was built on the top of Sulphur Mountain to assist in the preparation of weather reports designed to prove that Banff had an ideal climate for a health and recreation resort. Norman B. Sanson, park meteorologist and curator of the museum, was a popular figure around Banff for many decades.

After the advent of motor traffic, the Government entered the field of tourist accommodation to provide standardized campsites for this increasingly popular mode of holidaying. The spacious, well-equipped campground laid out at the junction of the Bow and Spray rivers in 1914 was so well patronized that several extensions were necessary. This campsite had to be relocated in the late 1920's when the CPR began enlarging the Banff golf course at the foot of Mount Rundle; the Government selected a well-adapted site on the natural table land on the northeast side of Tunnel Mountain, equipping the new camp with the latest modern conveniences.²⁴ The Commissioner recommended the provision of camping facilities at scenic points throughout the park such as Moraine Lake, Lake Louise and Johnston's Canyon.

Campgrounds served an important function in Yoho and Kootenay Parks as hotel accommodation was limited; as a result, the Government constructed a well-equipped system of campsites along the Kicking Horse Trail and the Banff-Windermere highway. The Waterton Lakes had always been a popular camping spot for the residents of southern Alberta, the Government

laying out a large site at Cameron Falls and several other points. One of the most picturesque campsites was situated amidst a carpet of wild flowers on the shores of Balsam Lake in Mount Revelstoke Park. The regulations drawn up during the 1920's to govern camping in the national parks restricted campers to authorized grounds, a fee being fixed at one dollar for three weeks or four dollars for the season; extreme caution was to be exercised with campfires.²⁵

In the provision of tourist accommodation, the railway companies enjoyed certain advantages partly because they possessed the capital for large investments. The CPR had a veritable monopoly on all the best sites in the parks along its route for the construction of high-class accommodation. Shortly after the initial park reservation at Banff, the CPR leased a splendid site which provided a breathtaking panorama of the Bow Valley at twenty dollars an acre. Opened in 1887 at a cost of \$100,000, the palatial Banff Springs Hotel soon became a favourite haunt of American millionaires. Its popularity necessitated several additions: major renovations took place in 1911 and after fire destroyed a large section of the hotel in 1926, the present structure was erected. It appears that CPR capital also financed the construction of the Sanitarium, a substantial hospital-hotel, for its proprietor Dr. R.G. Brett acted as the CPR's regional physician.²⁶ In 1889, the company built the first chalet at Lake Louise which was replaced by a much larger structure after it burned several years later. The only accommodation available at Lake Louise, the

CPR hotel, with its inspiring view, became increasingly well patronized. A \$50,000 Tudor-style extension was added in 1911, the present Chateau Lake Louise being opened in 1926 after a disastrous fire destroyed most of the old building.²⁷

At Field, the CPR built Mount Stephen House, "a picturesque and elegantly furnished Alpine inn which forms a meal-station for passing trains, and a commodious stopping place for tourists."²⁸ The closing of this old hotel in 1918 left Yoho Park with virtually no hotel accommodation except the comfortable, but small chalet at Emerald Lake which the company had erected in 1902.

The CPR's Glacier House, "the shrine of mountaineers in North America" which was opened in January 1887, remained the only place of accommodation in Glacier Park. Scenically located at a great curve in the railway, the hotel consisted of three parts: the square original building including the dining room, kitchen and reception office; the long, thin annex; and a new wing built up the slope in 1906, comprising ninety rooms in all. In 1893, Mrs. Julia Mary Young of Montreal took over management of the hotel and "in her capable hands it rose to the height of its glory, entertaining a host of famous mountaineers and mountain lovers."²⁹ The hotel continued to operate after the completion of the Connaught Tunnel, but as traffic did not warrant the required renovations, it was closed at the end of 1925, being demolished several years later.

In the early days particularly, the CPR's mountain hotels

were quite an institution, exciting the enthusiastic praise of many visitors:

They are built in tasteful chalet style, while the interiors are furnished with comfort and decorated with taste. Big rafted ceilings, large, old-fashioned hearths where log fires gleam in the cold evenings, cosy corners and deep armchairs prove welcome in the autumn at any rate, while paintings, flowers, ferns and evergreens give a homelike touch to living-rooms and corridors. Nor here do you have a score of ill-cooked, unrecognisable morsels congealing on as many wretched little platters, hurled down in front of you, dovetailing in with the half-finished or abandoned array of your next-door or opposite neighbour, by ultra-democratic waiters and waitresses. But you are treated under the assumption that you have a palate, and are not cajoled into barbaric methods by the thin subterfuge of a bewildering menu, but your dishes are well-cooked and served singly, as in a private house, by an ample staff of decorous waiters in white jackets.³⁰

Later, besides building teahouses at various scenic points throughout the parks, the CPR set up several permanent camps such as at Lake O'Hara and Summit Lake in Yoho Park to enable the tourist to "enjoy all the delights of real camp life, without having those discomforts which most campers have to contend with."³¹ The railway also financed construction of economical bungalow camps at Wapta Lake in Yoho and Radium Hot Springs and Vermilion Crossing in Kootenay Park which proved very popular with motorists.

In Jasper Park, the war and other financial difficulties prevented the Grand Trunk Pacific from erecting proposed luxury hotels at Jasper and Miette Hot Springs. The lack of high-class tourist accommodation had a detrimental effect on the popularity of this park, but the problem was somewhat alleviated

by the establishment of "The Tented City" on the shores of Lac Beauvert in 1915:

The sleeping tents (as separate as rooms in a hotel) are all fitted with board floors and are equipped with comfortable beds and every convenience. There is a large central marquee for the dining-room, and all this comfort, to say nothing of the glories of scenery undreamed of, is offered at the almost nominal rate of two and a half dollars a day.³²

Finally in 1923, the Canadian National completed the first unit of the famous Jasper Park Lodge. Situated on the former site of the tent city, it followed a similar plan being an artistic complex of deluxe log cabins with a large central lounge and dining room. An immediate success and a great boon to the park, the Lodge was increasingly enlarged until it provided accommodation for 650 guests by 1930.

In 1926, after forming a subsidiary company known as the Canadian Rockies Hotel Co. Ltd., the Great Northern, an American railway which had built several luxury hotels in the adjacent Glacier Park, began the construction of a striking, Swiss-style hotel in Waterton Lakes National Park. Opened the following year at a cost of \$330,000, the Prince of Wales Hotel, located on a rocky peninsula which commanded a superb view of the lakes, brought Waterton for the first time within the list of premier resorts of the Rockies.³³

The near monopoly of the railway companies did not result in the exclusion of other private interests from the national parks, however. Although it was never intended to allow general residence within the parks, with the exception

of Glacier and Mount Revelstoke,³⁴ resort townsites were laid out for each park. By the provisions of the 1887 Act, the Minister of the Interior was empowered to lease "for any term of years such parcels of land...as he deems advisable in the public interest, for the construction of buildings of ordinary habitation and purposes of trade and industry, and for the accommodation of persons resorting to the parks."

In 1886 the townsite of Banff had been surveyed and laid out on the left bank of the Bow River "at a place well suited for the future business transactions of the park."³⁵ The Government intended to regulate all commercial activity: buildings were to be designed so as to blend with the natural surroundings, all business and concession owners being required to pay a fixed licence fee.³⁶ The little village grew quickly; by the end of 1887, there were 350 permanent residents in the townsite, a total of 108 lots having been leased. As one visitor described Banff in 1890:

...there are shops selling articles of vertu, posting establishments, several smaller inns, two churches, a theatre, boats to hire on the river, provision shops, post office; altogether it is a most respectable little town.³⁷

During the first decade of the twentieth century, Banff, like the rest of western Canada, experienced rapid growth. By 1908, the town contained eight hotels, six livery barns and numerous outfitting stores; it was, declared Howard Douglas, "a beautiful, well-lighted and well-appointed little town having every characteristic of genuine prosperity and comfort."³⁸ The Superintendent's view can be taken as partisan,

however, for it certainly differs from the opinion of E.W. Elkington, a contemporary visitor to the park:

The town is out of all proportion to its surroundings: if it were not rather quaint, it would seem silly; there is one main short street of small uninteresting houses and shops. No attempt has been made to beautify the place. The road to the mountains is generally in an almost impassable state, and hotel accommodation, with the exception of the sanitarium and the magnificent CPR hotel, is poor.....³⁹

By 1912, in fact, it was generally admitted that building regulations had not been properly enforced resulting in the erection of many inferior structures. The more stringent regulations passed the following year required a special permit for the construction or alteration of any building. All plans, accompanied by a statement of the proposed value of the work which had to comply with lot classifications, were to be submitted for approval of the Superintendent.⁴⁰ In an attempt to eliminate the haphazard development of former days, the Government commissioned T.H. Mawson, an eminent landscape architect, to draw up a comprehensive scheme for the improvement of Banff and its immediate environs "so as to enhance the scenic beauty of the place and develop its character as one of the finest tourist resorts of this continent."⁴¹

A noticeable improvement was reported in the type of dwellings erected by 1915, the general appearance of the town being improved by the institution of annual clean-up days and other beautification projects undertaken by both residents and

park officials. In order to insure that the design of park buildings met a standard which would not detract from the beauty of the locality, all proposed plans now had to be authorized by the Head Office at Ottawa. This responsibility became the major concern of the former Town Planning Office of the Conservation Commission which was transferred to the National Parks Branch in 1921. After the war, construction in Banff was again heavy, lots in the new subdivision, which had originally been opened in 1914, being rapidly taken up. The growth and variety of new commercial activity necessitated the passing of a comprehensive schedule of fees and regulations for the operation of "businesses, callings, trades and occupations in the parks" in 1922.⁴² Government regulation did not prevent the town from becoming increasingly commercialized, however. As one visitor declared in the late 1920's:

At Banff the monstrous knickerbocker habit comes into its own, and the little town is wholly a tourist town with a main street designed to gratify every tourist passion.⁴³

Attempts were also made to create a resort area at Lake Minnewanka, acclaimed for its wonderful scenery and excellent fishing. In 1887, villa lots were laid out at the edge of the lake, the area being "admirably suited for cottages, lodges, hotels and sporting boxes, and a considerable revenue may be derived therefrom."⁴⁴ These plans did not materialize, however. Although a small hotel was soon erected and several lots leased, the building of a reservoir dam on the lake by the Calgary Power Company in 1911 terminated further development.

Theoretically the Government's developmental policy at Lake Louise was designed to safeguard the area's outstanding natural beauty.⁴⁵ For a long time, the CPR was the only developer allowed in the vicinity, but the advent of motor traffic in the 1920's created a need for cheaper tourist accommodation. As a result, a small subdivision was laid out a short distance from the lake, the lots being thrown open to the public subject to stringent building restrictions. In 1925, the Commissioner noted with satisfaction that the creation of a townsite at Lake Louise containing tearooms and stores had made it possible for hundreds of motorists to enjoy a stay at this beautiful spot at slight expense.⁴⁶ However, such developments inevitably marred the loveliness of the natural scene.

There were also several other townsites in Rocky Mountains Park associated with the various mining operations at Bankhead, Canmore and Anthracite which hardly constituted an attraction to the park.⁴⁷ In 1921, a comprehensive plan was drawn up for the town of Canmore with a view to making it a model mining village.

Government development of the Yoho Park townsite of Field began in 1905 with the construction of a rustic office for the Superintendent. Many log shacks, relics of railway construction days, were removed and other efforts made to improve the appearance of the town. In 1910, balm of gilead trees were planted to beautify the streets which "encouraged

residents to pay more attention to the beauty of their lawns and homes in general."⁴⁸ Field never attained the proportions or attributes of a resort town like Banff, most of its inhabitants being employees of the CPR. As one visitor described it in the early 1900's:

There may be altogether some thirty to forty houses at Field, modest ones for the most part, and inhabited by railway employees and hands, whose families I am told observe social rules with the utmost decorum in this veritable oasis. There will also be seen a number of railway navvies, mostly Galicians or Italians, not "in society," but given rather to herding in sheds and disused freight cars. They look happy however, are well fed, and get good wages.⁴⁹

In Waterton Lakes National Park, the survey of a town-site was one of the first activities undertaken, 150 lots (75 feet by 100 feet) being laid out by the lake on the delta below Cameron Creek, "a most desirable place for villa residences."⁵⁰ The rent was fixed at fifteen dollars per annum for lots with water frontage and ten dollars for rear lots, the lessee being required to erect a building within one year at a minimum cost of \$300.00.⁵¹ By 1913, two small hotels had been erected by residents from the neighbouring towns, but the cost of hauling building material from the nearest railway and the original lack of bridges impeded development. However, by 1918, nearly every suitable residential lot had been leased, necessitating the creation of another subdivision of eighty lots. Growth was rapid during the late 1920's, the town soon becoming equipped with modern tourist facilities.

Shortly after the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific,

sites near the mouth of Fiddle Creek Canyon and the Jasper Park Collieries were investigated as possible locations for a resort town. It became more feasible, however, for the Government to utilize the previously established railway center originally known as Fitzhugh with its favourable location at the junction of the Miette and Athabasca Rivers. The townsite of Jasper was surveyed in 1913 along with several sites for summer cottages on the various lakes in the vicinity. The Government built a handsome stone administration building and residence for the Superintendent, but the outbreak of war curtailed many of the proposed private developments. When Thomas Adams, Town Planning Advisor to the Conservation Commission, drew up a plan for the development of Jasper in 1920, it was considered fortunate that little construction existed which would interfere with the implementation of the scheme. The selection of Jasper as a divisional point of the CNR meant a rapid growth of the town during the 1920's. Miss Agnes Laut, a well-known Canadian authoress, selected a site on the shores of Lake Edith in 1920 for the construction of a summer colony for authors, artists, and professors which she hoped to establish.⁵²

The townsite at Radium Hot Springs in Kootenay Park was restricted to building sites for business purposes because the terrain made space so limited, only ten lots being laid out. The lots were to be leased at ten dollars per annum, lessees being required to erect respectable places for the benefit and accommodation of visitors.⁵³ Besides the CPR

development, J.S. Blakley constructed a hotel, service station and store. Small subdivisions for tourist accommodation were laid out at Vermilion Crossing and Marble Canyon.

Local merchants in the national park townsites co-operated with the Government and the railway companies to meet the visitor's every recreational need, the provision of sightseeing conveyances being of major importance. In the early days, livery stables, such as that started by James Brewster in 1905, did a booming business, not only renting carriages and saddle horses, but outfitting hunting parties for mountain areas outside the parks. With the coming of the automobile, Brewster made a smooth transition from tallyho to sightseeing bus, eventually monopolizing most of the traffic in Banff and Jasper. Boating formed another popular recreational activity, particularly in Waterton Lakes Park where several passenger launches made round trips down the lakes into Glacier. Besides motor launches, canoes and row boats were early available on the Bow River and placid Vermilion Lakes in Rocky Mountains Park. In 1899, the Government built a wharf at Lake Minnewanka to accommodate the "Lady of the Lake" and other tour boats, but refused an application to run a passenger launch on Lake Louise several years later as it "would seriously detract from the beauty and serenity of the lake."⁵⁴

To protect the tourist from exploitation, all such enterprises were to be operated under licence at rates fixed

by the Government. Policy tended toward over-commercialization, however, as is shown by the sanctioning of a proposal to construct a scenic railway up Cascade Mountain and later to fly sea-planes from Lake Minnewanka to enable tourists to enjoy an aerial view of the park.⁵⁵ In his appraisal of the parks' recreational needs in 1915, the Chief Superintendent advocated extensive development:

...we should arrange to construct a pavilion, Race Track, Baseball, Football, Tennis and Golf grounds...if we can bring tourists over good roads in automobiles and give them excellent recreation grounds, we can do quite a business.⁵⁶

As a result, the Government undertook to provide well-equipped recreation grounds in the townsites of Banff, Jasper and Waterton. Since particular emphasis was placed on the remunerative value of golf courses, the Dominion assisted the railway companies in laying out and improving two widely-acclaimed courses in conjunction with the Banff Springs Hotel and Jasper Park Lodge.

The benefits of hiking and mountain climbing had long been popularized by the Alpine Club of Canada⁵⁷ which held annual summer camps at scenic points throughout the parks, its members scaling numerous peaks under the leadership of expert Swiss guides. The Alpine Club's headquarters, located part way up Sulphur Mountain in Banff, functioned as a tourist bureau for many years while, in 1920, the Club instituted a scheme of "walking tours" to enable people of limited means to enjoy those park areas formerly restricted to more

expensive pack trains. The popularity of trail riding led to the formation of the Trail Riders' Club of the Canadian Rockies in 1924 which rapidly attracted a large international membership; in 1926, it organized a Steel-to-Steel trail trip from Jasper on the CNR to Field on the CPR.

In Banff, local residents organized several events designed specifically to attract tourists. The Banff Indian Days, an annual summer event begun in 1890, featured daily parades by the neighbouring Stoney Indians in full dress regalia plus competitions in native sports and dances. The inauguration of a highland dance festival under the auspices of the CPR in 1928 prompted Harkin's favourable comment:

It is good to note that the parks are now becoming a center of artistic interest through Indian folk music, ceremonies and handicrafts, and also through Scottish folk art and games. There is, perhaps, no place in the Dominion so suited to become a background for artistic performances and it is hoped that as time goes on the parks may become more and more the scene of other art festivals, which will help to enrich not only the interest of the parks themselves but the general cultural life of Canada.⁵⁸

Although, initially the promotion of the mountain parks as winter resorts was discouraged because the CPR felt it would have a detrimental effect on efforts to advertise Canada as an agricultural country with a moderate climate,⁵⁹ eventually the winter sports potential of the parks became increasingly recognized. In February 1917, Banff citizens organized the town's first winter carnival which they hoped would become the premier winter event of Western Canada. The

possibilities of Mount Revelstoke Park as a winter sports center were early appreciated. In 1920, the Government took over the improvement of the grounds of the Revelstoke Ski Club which contained an outstanding ski jump, the annual competitions attracting championship skiers. It was not until a later period, however, that extensive ski facilities were developed particularly in Banff and Jasper, making the national parks truly year-round playgrounds.

The creation of townsites within the parks saddled the Government with several unanticipated problems. In fact, the Minister of the Interior declared in 1930:

We would have no difficulty in the world, nor would any question arise, were it not for the municipalities created in the park areas.⁶⁰

The townsites were not actually true municipalities; in order to retain control of their development, the federal government had to undertake to provide all those facilities and services necessary to a modern town which normally would have been supplied by the municipality itself. As the townsites grew, this became an increasingly expensive proposition, but the Dominion was able to utilize the power and other facilities developed by the railway companies. Banff, for example, was originally supplied with electricity from the CPR powerhouse at Bankhead. After the closing of the mines in 1924, however, the Government was obliged to construct its own power plant for Banff Park, but in Jasper, the CNR always provided power and water facilities. The federal government did not levy a

property tax, park residents paying only a small annual rental for their lots and fixed rates for water, light, sewerage, and telephone services.

Because the Government administered the park townsites, the people had no elected municipal councils but were governed in minute detail by regulations passed in Ottawa. Although represented in the federal parliament, park residents had virtually no voice in the formulation of the policy by which they were governed. Unfortunately, the interests of the citizens whose livelihood depended primarily on the tourist trade frequently conflicted with the aims of park officials, while the long distance to Ottawa resulted in annoying delays and misunderstandings. As a result, residents of the national parks, particularly in Banff, were often loud in their criticism of the Government's administration. As early as 1895, the Banff Liberal Conservative Association drew up a list of resolutions expressing dissatisfaction with certain aspects of park policy especially the high licence fees which were held to be retarding the commercial growth of the park.⁶¹ In 1908, owing to the lack of sympathy between government officials and park residents, the Banff Liberal Association called for an investigation to alleviate the inadequacy of tourist facilities and the high utilities' rates charged by the CPR and the Dominion.

Officially the Government appears to have attempted to assuage the residents' complaints, although there do seem to

have been discrepancies in the actual enforcement of certain regulations. Under the Conservative administration after 1912, park officials began to consult the Banff Board of Trade in an advisory capacity; Senator Lougheed, Minister of the Interior, later initiated the policy of creating advisory councils of prominent townspeople to assist in the formulation of park legislation. The Banff Advisory Council, described as "a body of men who have made their life's work and study the development of the Parks,"⁶² claimed an intimate knowledge of the requirements of the park, but having no authority to enforce its views was frequently overruled. During the 1920's, the rapport between the Government and park residents again deteriorated. The people of Banff were particularly aggrieved over the selection of the new campsite in 1928, declaring the location to be too far away from the hot springs and the business center of the town. D.M. Soole, Secretary of the Banff Advisory Council, emphasized its powerlessness:

This controversy has brought us to the point where we as a Council, and where the people of Banff as tax-payers and co-developers of the greatest National Park of the Country--even though we are only wards of the Dominion Government Parks Department--want to know whether we are to be recognized by the bureaucracy at Ottawa or not...for the past few years they have turned a deaf ear to most of our requests. They have ignored our requests to place before us any contemplated changes in the Regulations which may affect us; yet frequently refer to us for support in the enforcement of some petty regulations which their officials may find difficult in enforcing.⁶³

The problem was discussed several times in the House of Commons, one proposed solution being that the townspeople should be allowed to elect their own municipal council to be responsible for local administration, subject to federal disallowance on any municipal regulations which conflicted with general park policy. R.B. Bennett, who championed the cause of the Banff residents, advocated the granting of some power of municipal government wherever the population of a park exceeded one hundred.⁶⁴ The Banff Advisory Council urged that the local superintendent should be vested with greater administrative authority to alleviate difficulties caused by the referral of nearly all matters to Ottawa.⁶⁵ The Government, however, was unable to determine any permanent solution for this long-standing problem. The Minister of the Interior admitted in 1930 that he had even contemplated the withdrawal of the townsites from park areas but concluded that the granting of any municipal jurisdiction to the townspeople, in weakening government control, would ultimately jeopardize the purposes to be served by the national parks.⁶⁶

One of the principal grievances of park residents resulted from the Government's leasing policy which encountered difficulties from the beginning. It seems that initially the intention may have been to sell rather than lease lots in the Banff townsite. During the debate on the Park Act in 1887, Minister of the Interior White explained that the Government hoped to retain control of all land in the park "except in

so far as the building up of a town on the opposite side of the Bow River may necessitate the sale of a portion...for that purpose." Furthermore:

The Government have already surveyed it and laid it out and are selling lots; and I am told by the Secretary of the Department who has recently been up there with a view to making a report as to the progress of matters, and to determine the conditions on which sales should be made, that \$15,000 worth of lots have already been applied for.⁶⁷

Superintendent Stewart apparently felt he was empowered to sell land for during the winter and spring of 1886-1887, he received partial payment for quite a number of lots. A good deal of speculation took place immediately as in the case of Mr. Blackwood who paid a total of \$1,720 for eighteen lots, all of which he sold at a profit even though he did not legally have any title to the land.⁶⁸

The Act of 1887, however, made it clear that lots were to be leased, not sold. Besides recognizing a steady revenue, the leasing system would have other advantages as emphasized by Sir Donald Smith:

I trust that the leasing system will be adopted, so that the Government will have full and thorough control of it [the park], and thus be able to impose conditions which will prevent the introduction of much that is to be found in such places and which it is not desirable should prevail.⁶⁹

By 1889 considerable dissatisfaction was being expressed over the Government's confused policy; dispute raged in the House of Commons as to whether lots had actually been sold before 1887. Laurier, citing the case of one Patrick Carr who had

paid a total of twenty-five dollars towards two lots in May 1887, supported the Banff residents who claimed that the Government had offered lots for sale and accepted partial payment for them. The Government, he charged, had committed a breach of faith in subsequently withdrawing the lots from sale and intimidating the settlers to accept leases. However, the Macdonald administration maintained that its actions had been misinterpreted: its policy had not been definitely formulated to either lease or sell, Mr. Carr being but one of several persons who had "applied to be allowed to register their names and pay a small sum, in order that when the land was put on the market they would be the first applicants."⁷⁰

In 1891, a Special Committee of the North West Legislative Assembly investigated the complaints of settlers in Rocky Mountains Park, recommending that if such settlers could show to a reasonable extent that they believed themselves to be purchasing the lots outright when they made their first payment they should be allowed to complete the purchase. The Minister of the Interior, however, adamantly opposed this suggestion, declaring that it would be absolutely inconsistent with the purpose for which the park was created to allow any individual to obtain exclusive possession of any part of the reservation.⁷¹ The Department of the Interior undertook its own investigation in 1896 in an effort to settle the dispute. E.F. Stephenson, Crown Timber Agent at Winnipeg, was commissioned to determine the validity of the various

claims and the amount of compensation to be awarded those purchasers or their assignees who remained in actual possession of their lots, or those parties who had, through no fault of their own, suffered actual loss or damage, but no compensation was to be given for the loss of profits in resale or other speculative transactions such as in the Blackwood claim.⁷²

In developing its leasing policy, however, the Government was less stringent than had originally been intended, partly to attract investment. John A. Macdonald, who was particularly opposed to short-term, fixed leases, urged that if they were to be limited at all, there must be a right of renewal. Initially granted for twenty-one years, in 1890 the leases were extended to a period of forty-two years, renewable in perpetuity. Only a nominal rental fee was charged, ranging from eight to fifteen dollars per annum depending on the size and location of the lot. Although all buildings erected in the park were to be approved by the superintendent and of a nature which would enhance its general character, during the early years this regulation was very loosely enforced with the result that "some parts of Banff were perhaps not quite what might be desired."⁷³ As people were allowed to hold lots without building on them, certain parties such as the Brewster family were able to acquire large tracts of land.⁷⁴

The new Liberal administration, in fact, considered the

leasing policy to have been a failure. In Laurier's opinion, the leasing system not only discouraged owners from making extensive improvements to their properties, but actually deterred many from building at all. In 1896, Frank Oliver recommended that the Park Act be amended to permit the sale of lots in Banff townsite, subject to building conditions:

If this arrangement were made I have every confidence that within a very few years what is now a collection of most delapidated shacks would be replaced by a pretty and attractive village....⁷⁵

The inclusion of the mining town of Canmore in the park in 1902 aggravated the situation because lots had been sold in Canmore before it became a part of the park; it was considered undesirable that this essentially industrial town should be subjected to "the disabilities that pertain to the management of matters in the park." As a result, the Rocky Mountains Park Act was amended in 1906 to provide for the sale of town lots in Banff and Canmore. Oliver, now Minister of the Interior, believed that without impairing the park, it would be possible by giving the privilege of absolute ownership within the town of Banff to attract people who desired to invest considerable sums of money in handsome residences in the town.⁷⁶ It is difficult to determine why this provision which was subsequently embodied in the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act of 1911 was never put into effect. Oliver later declared that it would have required an additional Order in Council to make this provision applicable to the park.⁷⁷

Commissioner Harkin, of course, adamantly opposed the sale of lots in the townsites. Consequently in 1913, the 1911 Act was amended to bring the leasing system again into force; regulations were passed to improve the class of buildings erected in specific areas, lease holders being required to construct a suitable building within one year as experience had shown that in many cases speculators had taken up land without any intention of complying with building conditions. At the same time, the Government endeavoured to enforce its leasing policy more strictly in Banff and other park townsites. A determined policy of cancellation was inaugurated against lot holders who violated the terms of the agreements covering their leases. In order to give everyone a fair chance to secure these cancelled leases and to deter speculators from attempting to blanket lots as in the past, the Government decided to dispose of them by public auction. This system proved successful and remunerative, a large number of lots being disposed of before the war.⁷⁸

By an amendment to the park regulations in 1924, licensees were restricted to a maximum of two adjoining lots. In 1929, Commissioner Harkin recommended a substantial increase in lot rentals:

The municipal development and the conveniences and services supplied at Banff, for which no revenue is received, greatly enhances the value of properties and as owner of the land it is considered that the Department is entitled to a fair return on the value of these properties. It is common knowledge that some Banff property is now selling as high as \$6,000 and \$8,000 per

lot, and in some cases I believe lots are held at \$10,000 for unimproved property.⁷⁹

A three-man commission, representing both the Parks Branch and the Banff Advisory Council, was appointed to investigate the rental question. While generally sanctioning a rent increase in their report in 1930, the commissioners could not agree upon a system whereby this could be implemented, the Banff Advisory Council now declaring itself opposed to any increase in lot rentals.⁸⁰

Thus the problem was left to succeeding administrations. The Government was to regret its earlier policy of encouraging settlement in the parks because private residence came to be regarded as inconsistent with national park principles. In fact, the Government's policy with its long-term, renewable leases resulted in almost a form of freehold tenure which proved detrimental to effective federal control of the parks. The present attempt to reassert Government control by terminating the perpetual clauses of the leases has caused much resentment.

FOOTNOTES

¹Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park," Annual Report, 1904-1905 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1905), Part V, p. 3.

²Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks," Annual Report, 1913-1914 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1914), Part V, p. 11.

³University of Alberta, Archives, William Pearce Papers, Letter, Wm. Pearce to Deputy Minister of the Interior, November 25, 1903.

⁴Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 8 April 1911."

⁵Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1917-1918, Part V, p. 13.

⁶"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1920-1921, Part V, p. 3.

⁷"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1922-1923, Part V, p. 71.

⁸See Illustrations, Figures 16 and 17.

⁹"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1924-1925, Part V, p. 91. The motorist would now be able to proceed from Calgary to Banff and Lake Louise, thence to Field and Golden, thence via the Windermere valley to Radium Hot Springs, returning over the Banff-Windermere highway to Banff.

¹⁰This peak was named in 1917 after the heroic British nurse who was shot by the Germans during the First World War.

¹¹"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1926-1927, Part III, p. 96.

¹²Canada, Dept. of Interior, "National Park and Hot Springs," by John Hall, Annual Report, 1886, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1886), Part 1, pp. 80-83.

¹³Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 30 June 1886."

¹⁴William Pearce, "Establishment of National Parks in the Rockies," Alberta Historical Review, vol. 10 (Summer 1962), p. 12.

¹⁵Segregated bathing times, alternating every three hours between the Cave and Basin, were instituted, admission tickets selling for twenty-five cents which included towels and a bathing costume.

¹⁶Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 30 June 1890."

¹⁷An analysis of the hot springs at Banff in 1916 revealed that they contained certain radio-active properties, resembling the Kings' Well springs at Bath, England, long famous for their therapeutic qualities.

¹⁸Rates for hot sulphur water, originally fixed at ten dollars per tub per annum, were adjusted over the years.

¹⁹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 22 February 1913."

²⁰"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1927-1928, Part III, p. 88.

²¹"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1918-1919, Part V, p. 25.

²²"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1890, Part V, p. 6.

²³"Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1903-1904, Part V, p. 4.

²⁴The choice of the new location was very unpopular with Banff residents (see supra, p. 109).

²⁵Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 9 June 1926."

²⁶R. Scace, "Banff Townsite: Evolution of a National Park Community" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1967), p. 49.

²⁷Illustrations of several of the old CPR hotels are to be found at the end of this thesis.

²⁸Ernest Ingersoll, The Canadian Guide-Book, Part II (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1892), p. 201.

²⁹F.V. Longstaff, "Historical Notes on Glacier House," Canadian Alpine Journal, vol. 31, 1948, p. 195.

³⁰A.G. Bradley, Canada in the Twentieth Century (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1905), p. 353.

³¹"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1914-1915, Part V, p. 42.

³²Lilian Whiting, Canada, The Spellbinder (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1917), p. 126.

³³"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1926-1927, Part III, p. 90.

³⁴The town of Revelstoke was so close to the national park that a separate park townsite was unnecessary.

³⁵"Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1887, Part VI, p. 4.

³⁶Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 30 June 1890."

³⁷William Spotswood Green, Among the Selkirk Glaciers (London: MacMillan & Co., 1890), p. 236.

³⁸"Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1905-1906, Part V, p. 7.

³⁹E. Way Elkington, Canada, The Land of Hope (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1910), p. 139.

⁴⁰Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 27 November 1913."

⁴¹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 13 July 1913."

⁴²Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 9 May 1922."

⁴³Yvonne Fitzroy, A Canadian Panorama (London: Methuen & Co., 1929), p. 158.

⁴⁴"Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1887, Part VI, p. 8.

⁴⁵Canada, Public Archives, R.B. Bennett Papers, Film No. 32, Letter, Harkin to Bennett, pp. 39663-39666.

⁴⁶"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1924-1925 Part V, p. 91.

⁴⁷These townsites are discussed in more detail in Chapter V (see supra, p. 123).

⁴⁸"Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1910-1911, Part V, p. 4.

⁴⁹Bradley, Canada in the Twentieth Century, p. 355.

⁵⁰"Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1910-1911, Part V, p. 9.

⁵¹Canada, Department of Northern Development and Indian Affairs, National Parks Branch, File W20, Letter, Secretary of Interior to King's Printer, March 4, 1913.

⁵²"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1920-1921, Part V, p. 13.

⁵³Canada, National Parks Branch, File K22, vol. 1, Letter, Commissioner to Banff Superintendent, May 12, 1923.

⁵⁴Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 22, B, File U3, vol. 1, Letter, Commissioner to Banff Superintendent, November 27, 1915.

⁵⁵Because of financial difficulties neither of these plans actually materialized.

⁵⁶Canada, National Parks Branch, File W2, vol. 1, Letter, Chief Superintendent to Harkin, May 14, 1915.

⁵⁷The value of the publicity work done by the Alpine Club was such that in 1914 the Government began granting it an annual sum of \$1,000 to help finance its activities.

⁵⁸"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1928-1929, Part IV, p. 104. Such a policy favoured the establishment of the Banff school of Fine Arts in 1930's.

⁵⁹Canada, Public Archives, RG22, B, File 562966, Memo., R.H. Campbell to Minister of Interior, February 16, 1910.

⁶⁰Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Debates, 1930 (Ottawa, 1930), vol. 2, p. 1936.

⁶¹Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 15, B-1a, File 376858, Memo., T.G. Rothwell to Deputy Minister of Interior, June 11, 1895.

⁶²Canada, Public Archives, R.B. Bennett Papers, Film No. 32, Letter, Banff Advisory Council to Bennett, March 7, 1928, pp. 39737-39738.

⁶³Public Archives, R.B. Bennett Papers, Film No. 32, Letter, Banff Advisory Council to Harkin, November 21, 1927, p. 39675.

⁶⁴Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1930, vol. 3, p. 1932.

⁶⁵Crag and Canyon, April 17, 1930, p. 4.

⁶⁶Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1930, vol. 1, p. 829.

⁶⁷Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1887, p. 194.

⁶⁸Canada, Public Archives, Manuscript Group 27, II D15, (Clifford Sifton Papers), Letter, E.F. Stephenson to Secretary of Interior, March 20, 1897, pp. 36465-36466.

⁶⁹Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1887, p. 238.

⁷⁰Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1891, p. 5111.

⁷¹Canada, Department of Interior, "Order in Council, 7 March 1892."

⁷²Canada, Public Archives, MG27, II, D15, Letter, Clifford Sifton to Deputy Minister of Interior, December 28, 1896, vol. 214, p. 638. The only recorded case of compensation was a sum of \$2,500 paid to Messrs. Williamson and Taylor in 1897.

⁷³Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1910, p. 6197.

⁷⁴Scace, "Banff Townsite," p. 63.

⁷⁵Canada, Public Archives, RG15, B-1a, File 412405, Letter, F. Oliver to R.W. Scott, September 30, 1896.

⁷⁶Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1906, p. 4735.

⁷⁷Crag and Canyon, June 8, 1911, p. 1.

⁷⁸"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1913-1914 Part V, p. 6. In 1913, sixty leases were cancelled in Banff, nine in Waterton Lakes.

⁷⁹Canada, National Parks Branch, File U21, vol. 1, Departmental Memo., March 11, 1929.

⁸⁰Crag and Canyon, July 4, 1930, p. 1.

CHAPTER V

NATIONAL PARK POLICY: INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

One of the principal tenets of present national park policy is the absolute prohibition of industrial development within the parks. As early as 1887, a Liberal Member of Parliament had pointed out the inconsistency of allowing industrial activity in Rocky Mountains Park:

If you intend to keep it as a park, you must shut out trade, traffic, and mining. If you are going to preserve it for mining, do not call it a park; the two things are inconsistent.¹

Initially, however, the Government's policy sought to accommodate both these objectives. In Sir John A. Macdonald's opinion, "there may be places where the property may be used for industrial purposes without interfering with the beauty of the park as a whole."²

As the early period of park development coincided with the opening of Western Canada to settlement, it was inconceivable that the existence of tourist resorts should prevent the utilization of valuable natural resources which would contribute to the growth of the Canadian economy. Active exploitation of natural resources in the Banff area began with the arrival of railway crews in 1881, both mining and lumbering being carried on before the park reservation was made.

Partly because it would have been too expensive to buy out these interests, the Government decided to allow this development to continue, subject to certain regulations so as not to "impair in any way the usefulness of the park for the purposes of public enjoyment and recreation."³

With the growth of the concept of national parks as preserves of "original Canada", however, any form of industrial activity came to be regarded as inimical to park purposes: industry not only marred the scenery, but destroyed the essential wilderness condition of forest and wildlife. The exclusion of all industrial interests from the national parks was increasingly emphasized:

...there must be a definite policy against the non-exploitation of the commercial resources within the parks. The policy of the Parks Service is based on the idea that when the parks were created all the minerals as well as the other natural resources were in effect staked on behalf of the general public and that therefore no individual has any right to endeavour to restake these claims...In dealing with the National Parks, one must deal...from the standpoint of the Nation and not from the standpoint⁴ of either the individual or the local community.

To quell the arguments of those who stressed the economic benefits of industrialism, park officials argued that the superlative scenery of the parks was in itself a readily marketable commodity, the tourist industry becoming an important factor in the country's prosperity. Consequently, under the National Parks Act of 1930, no provision was made for the allowance of any form of industrial development. During the interval, however, the national parks were subject to considerable

industrial exploitation.

Coal mining was one of the earliest and most important industries developed in the national parks. In Banff Park, rich deposits of coal were discovered in the Cascade Basin in 1883. Before the park was reserved, over one thousand acres of coal land had been sold to one McLeod Stewart who formed the Anthracite Coal Company whose operations were regarded as highly significant:

The establishment of this connection is of great consequence not only to the owners of the mine, but also to the CPR and to the country. The discovery and successful development of anthracite coal in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, midway between the coal fields of British Columbia on the west and those of the prairie region on the east, situated, too, right on the line of our great transcontinental railway and within easy reach of the Pacific coast, may furnish to those who are concerned about the possible future relations of Canada and the British Empire, some material for reflection.⁵

The village of Anthracite, which grew rapidly, appears to have had all the characteristics of a frontier mining town:

Log huts, tents, dugouts, turf hovels and all sorts of "dodges" were to be seen; anything that could be called a shelter at all was in use. There were canvas saloons with grandilquent names, and slouching about the place were a number of unhappy-looking mortals.⁶

After a temporary shut-down in 1891, the works at Anthracite were taken over by W.H. McNeill and Company who, with the help of the CPR, had begun to develop coal deposits at Canmore in 1889. Another company, the Canada North-West Coal and Lumber Syndicate, began working the Brinkerhoff claim at Canmore which was producing between forty and sixty

tons of coal daily by 1891.⁷ Although production increased over the years, it was sporadic, being subject to the fluctuating demand for anthracite coal and competition from American sources. The mines at Canmore did a steady business supplying coal for the engines and stationary boilers on the CPR's western route, but the operations at Anthracite eventually proved uneconomical, being abandoned in 1904.⁸

The cessation of operations at Anthracite, however, coincided with the beginning of an even larger mining development at Bankhead only five miles northeast of Banff on the road to Lake Minnewanka. This project undertaken solely by the CPR was enthusiastically supported by Superintendent Douglas:

The acquisition and development of the property by the Canadian Pacific Railway marks a new era, not only in the history of the Rocky Mountains, but in the industrial life of the district of Alberta.⁹

Five thousand acres reported to contain enough high-grade coal to supply a large market for fifty years were leased to the company which received permission to construct a spur line to the mines. This development necessitated the rerouting of the popular drive to Lake Minnewanka to prevent "any possibility of accident to travellers, and reduce to a minimum any unpleasantness always to be found in the neighbourhood of a coal mine."¹⁰

According to Douglas, the CPR spared no effort to

construct "a model company town" providing attractive homes and excellent municipal services for its employees. Modern park planners, however, would wince at his assessment of the merits of the town:

The new village of Bankhead, instead of being a detriment to the beauty of the park, will, on the contrary, add another to the many and varied attractions of the neighbourhood. Situated almost directly on the road to Lake Minnewanka, one of the most popular drives in the vicinity of Banff, and a little more than halfway to the lake, nestling under the shadow of Cascade, with its beautiful homes and teeming industrial life, it has already become a popular stopping place for tourists.¹¹

As the works at Bankhead expanded to meet the increasing demand, the town, which had a large immigrant population, grew to become the largest center in the park by 1911.¹²

With the advent of gas and oil, however, the use of coal as a fuel increasingly diminished. By the early 1920's. operations at Bankhead were no longer a paying proposition, the mines being closed permanently in 1923 and the town dismantled. Activity also slackened at Canmore, but it was considered desirable to withdraw this industrial area from the park in 1930.

The railway companies were also behind the development of coal deposits in Jasper Park. The Jasper Park Collieries, owned by the Grand Trunk Pacific, began operations in 1909, having leased over one thousand acres of high-grade coal land near the mouth of Fiddle Creek. The company undertook to construct a "first-class" townsite known as Pocahontas for

its several hundred employees, which was located at the foot of Roche Miette, one of the most striking peaks in the park. Although it had been anticipated that this development would supply all the coal required for the operation of the western section of the Grand Trunk Pacific, the mines at Pocahontas proved faulty; another mine was opened at Bedson just across the river, however, which contained two seams of excellent steam coal. In 1916, the Canadian Northern built a branch line to its mine, the Blue Diamond, on Brûlé Lake, which was soon producing between 700-800 tons of high-quality steam coal daily. Several other leases were granted, but little development occurred as the supply of coal rapidly exceeded the demand. In fact, in 1921, the Jasper Park Collieries closed their mines, being unable to compete with other coal mines throughout Alberta which were producing a higher grade of coal. The Brûlé area was excluded from the park in 1930.

The Government did make some attempt to ensure that coal mining operations did not seriously mar park areas. Under the first regulations of 1892, licences to mine coal were to be disposed of by public competition, but this was changed several years later to allow the Minister of the Interior to issue licences directly on a first-come, first-served basis. To be granted for a period of twenty years, a lease could be renewed for a maximum of sixty years; no individual was to hold more than 320 acres, the ground rent being \$1.20 per acre per annum with a royalty of ten cents per

ton on all coal mined.¹³ In 1907, in order to curb the speculative leasing which developed, the lessee was required to commence active operations within one year of receiving his lease and to mine a certain specified quantity of coal.¹⁴ Tighter restrictions were embodied in the revision of the coal mining regulations for the Dominion parks in 1911, companies being obliged to take extensive precautions against forest fires; whereas formerly surface boundaries had coincided with underground boundaries, the Minister was now to grant only such surface rights as considered "necessary for the efficient and economical workings of the coal mining rights granted."¹⁵ Furthermore, since surface rights had to be applied for separately, many of the numerous coal leases granted in both Banff and Jasper Parks were never actually developed.

Quartz mining was also rather sporadically carried on within the parks. In 1881 before the creation of Rocky Mountains Park, the discovery of copper ore near Castle Mountain (now Mount Eisenhower) had created a short-lived boom; Silver City, which rapidly disappeared, had a population of about 1,500 at its height.¹⁶ Since 1882, the Monarch Mining Company had been intermittently developing a silver mine on Mount Stephen in Yoho Park. One early visitor noted that "high up on the mountain-side you can see the galleries of the silver miners, who let their ore and themselves down by an almost vertical cable tramway."¹⁷ Signs of

renewed activity in 1911 prompted the Superintendent to speculate that "the mine bids fair to becoming one of the largest silver-lead mines in British Columbia,"¹⁸ but this development never materialized.

In 1915, reports of the discovery of gold and copper in paying quantities near Eldon Station between Lake Louise and Castle Mountain resulted in the formation of several companies anxious to begin development. The coming of the war and government policy mitigated against the realization of this objective, however. Although regulations governing the operation of quartz mining claims in the mountain parks had been issued in 1911, the Government decided in 1916 to prohibit further quartz mining because few essential deposits of minerals had actually been located in the parks, such development being detrimental to park interests.¹⁹

In British Columbia, the provincial Department of Mines granted leases for mineral rights in the national parks, but surface rights had to be obtained from the federal government. The Dominion refused to allow one Harry Howell to develop his claims to what were reputedly two excellent deposits of zinc and tin in Kootenay and Yoho Parks respectively.²⁰ In 1918, there was an unsuccessful attempt to withdraw several townships from Glacier Park which were reported to contain large deposits of silver, lead, zinc and copper, but Superintendent Russell still favoured the operation of mineral claims within the park:

...it is not in the country's best interests that the pleasure grounds of the public should hamper or be detrimental to the country's industries...it should be quite feasible for our public Parks to give both their mineral and scenic wealth without the one interfering with the other.²¹

Quarrying operations in the parks were more successful than those of quartz mining. In 1905, the Western Canada Cement and Coal Company, owned by the CPR, located a highly favourable site for the manufacture of Portland cement on the north shore of Lac des Arcs (Sand Lake) in Rocky Mountains Park. Since the Superintendent reported that "the operation of stone quarries would not be objectionable and would not conflict or interfere with the improvements already made or those likely to be carried on in the park," twelve hundred acres were leased to the company for the quarrying of limestone, a ground rent of twenty-five cents per acre plus a royalty of five percent on the sales of the gross output of the quarry being charged.²²

Superintendent Douglas viewed the erection of the large cement mill, which eventually reached a production capacity of 2,600 barrels a day, as an important step in the building up of Western Canada. He was also enthusiastic about the possibilities of the well-equipped company town of Exshaw:

Beautifully situated on a gentle slope overlooking Lac des Arcs, with a magnificent view in every direction, the new town of Exshaw, the center of a great manufacturing industry, has arisen out of the valley of the Bow River.²³

The market for Portland cement fluctuated, however, the plant being closed for four years after 1912. The Exshaw area was eventually excluded from the park in 1930.

Owing to the increasing number of quarrying leases being granted in the Dominion parks, new regulations governing their operation were issued in 1911 which emphasized protection of the surrounding area. No lease was to be granted unless the Superintendent had assured himself that it would not mar the beauty or utility of the park, surface rights being restricted to the minimum area necessary for the removal of the material for which the lease was granted. While no trees were to be cut without permission, an area of at least one hundred feet around the works had to be kept clear of all inflammable material, and all engines equipped with spark arresters and kept in good repair.²⁴

The same year the Chief Superintendent expressed concern over the large number of limestone leases in Jasper Park which he believed were being held for speculative purposes: out of a total of twenty-three leases on file only the Fitzhugh Stone and Lime Company was actually operating its claim located near Pocahontas.²⁵ Park Superintendent Maynard Rogers, who adamantly opposed the granting of any leases which would mar the scenic railway route or injure game breeding areas, discouraged inquiries from would-be developers, but the Edmonton Portland Cement Company was allowed to establish a quarry about four miles north of Jasper

on the Grand Trunk Line during his absence overseas in the war.

In 1915, several gypsum claims were located in the Snake Indian River area, but the cost of constructing a tote road to the nearest railway depot proved prohibitive. When one of the developers, J.J. Soper tried to have his claim reinstated in 1930, he was informed that "when the Park boundaries were revised recently, the Park areas were reduced to exclude land which might have commercial value, it being understood...that the lands left within the Park boundaries were of more value for park purposes than from a commercial standpoint."²⁶

Unlike the other parks, it was the existence of oil which prompted the most serious industrial activity in Waterton Lakes National Park. The discovery of oil seepages near Cameron Lake in 1889 resulted in the organization of the Alberta Petroleum and Prospecting Company, comprised of local Albertans with a share capital of \$5,000,²⁷ but this group and several others had little success in extracting any oil. In 1902, the Rocky Mountain Development Company began drilling for oil along Oil (Cameron) Creek; the company's headquarters, consisting of a few log shacks and a rough dining hall, was flamboyantly christened Oil City. Progress was slow, however, due to inexperience and faulty equipment; although a small pocket of oil was located, the operation was soon abandoned.

In 1904, another group, the Western Coal and Oil Company,

located oil near Cameron Falls. The drilling of several holes prompted Chief Forest Ranger W.I. Margach to comment:

Owing to the development of the oil wells I think the areas of the park quite large enough, as, in my opinion, play grounds come second with development of the mineral wealth and industries of the country.²⁸

The company established its headquarters on the quarter section of land purchased from "Kootenai" Brown at the mouth of Cameron Creek, but the yield of oil was too small to continue operations which had ceased by 1908. Attempts to develop deposits of float coal and copper found in the vicinity of the lakes also proved abortive.

Although lumbering was carried on in all the national parks, much marketable timber had been destroyed by forest fires. Logging began in the Rocky Mountains Park area soon after the arrival of the CPR to meet the demand for railway ties and pit props, ten timber berths having been surveyed along the Bow River and its tributaries in 1883. Before the passage of the 1887 Park Act, the Eau Claire and Bow River Lumber Company, originally an American firm, had leased three timber limits; the Honorable J.G. Ross held another lease with the result that a total of ninety square miles of park area had been alienated as timber land. Realizing that the operation of these extensive holdings would be detrimental to park development, the Government endeavoured to exchange them for lands outside the reservation. In 1889, the Eau Claire Lumber Company relinquished two of its timber limits, retaining only

a small area in the park.²⁹ After the boundary extension of 1902, however, some 360 square miles of timber berths, which were being logged by various interests including the CPR, were included in the park.

Before the reservation of the park areas, the Department of the Interior had issued licences for the cutting of timber at a yearly rate of five dollars per square mile. The mountain parks of British Columbia were quite heavily logged, particularly Glacier Park, but operations in Jasper Park were limited owing to the widespread devastation from recent forest fires. The following table indicates the extent of lumbering operations in the parks by 1911:³⁰

TABLE VII
NUMBER OF TIMBER BERTHS IN MOUNTAIN
NATIONAL PARKS, 1911

Parks	Berths	Area Covered (Square Miles)	Timber Cut (Board Feet)
Banff.....	8	334.08	7,522,602
Yoho	9	28.44	929,486
Glacier.....	8	35.13	2,985,257
Jasper.....	6	56.89	90,390

While there was little development in Waterton Lakes Park, Henry Hanson began a lumbering business in 1905, constructing a saw mill on the shore of Maskinoge Lake; however, losses resulting from a severe flood forced him into bankruptcy several

years later. After the creation of Kootenay Park, the Government arranged for the Malo-Mahon Lumber Company to exchange its extensive timber holdings for other forest lands in the Railway Belt.³¹

Because the vast quantities of fire-killed timber in the parks constituted a further hazard, officials sanctioned the cutting of dead wood to "reduce the danger from fire and dispel the idea that any timber within the park reserves is locked up from use by citizens."³² Under the regulations issued for the cutting of dry wood and dead timber in 1906, a yearly permit could be obtained from the park superintendent for twenty-five cents which upon expiry was to be returned with a statutory declaration stating the quantity of wood cut. The rate of dues on timber cut for mining props, posts and rails was fixed according to diameter, but park residents were allowed to cut up to fifteen cords of wood free for their own use.³³

Under the administration of the Forestry Branch, logging operations were not effectively supervised which resulted in the illegal cutting of timber and the blanketing of permits.³⁴ Consequently, the Parks Branch, upon assuming control, endeavoured to tighten up the regulations, cancelling many illegal leases. Although formerly, timber permits were supposed to expire each year, it had become the practice of officials to allow permittees to renew their leases from year to year until all desired timber was removed; this led to

speculation, however, since a permittee could secure and hold a large tract of timber for many years.³⁵ In order to curb the trafficking in timber holdings park authorities restricted the maximum area for a permit to 160 acres. While tending to prevent speculation, this regulation caused considerable hardship in the case of bona fide operators with large investments; therefore, by Order in Council of February 25, 1911, the Minister was authorized to grant leases for areas of two square miles to be obtained by public competition. Under the new timber regulations issued in 1915, the annual rental for such a permit, which was to be renewable for three years, was set at thirty dollars per square mile.

The Minister was also empowered to grant permits for the cutting of green timber necessary in thinning out dense growths, making roads and other improvements. Extensive use was made of this provision during the cutting of the right of way for the Banff-Windermere highway. Throughout the winter of 1915-1916, three different companies were engaged in the cutting of sawlogs, mining props and cordwood, a portable saw-mill being erected at Castle Mountain to cut the lumber for shipment to Calgary. The Eau Claire Lumber Company also continued to log its lease located in the Spray Lakes area, removing a total of 4,500,000 feet of timber in 1920.³⁶

As the period progressed, however, it became increasingly emphasized that extensive lumbering operations were a great

detriment in any area reserved as a national park. According to Commissioner Harkin, it was the policy of the Parks Branch to preserve the forests in their virgin state as far as possible.³⁷ Under the provisions of the National Parks Act of 1930, the cutting of timber, to be done only under close supervision of park wardens, was restricted to the removal of dead or diseased trees and such green timber as might be necessary for forest management and protection.

The whole question of the utilization of the parks' natural resources for industrial purposes reached a climax during the controversy which resulted from attempts to develop the water resources of the national parks. In 1911, owing to the increasing demand for power in Alberta centers coupled with a need to regulate the Bow River for irrigation and flood control, the Government permitted the Calgary Power Company to construct a conservation dam at the outlet of Lake Minnewanka. However, "elaborate provisions" were incorporated into the agreement to adequately protect park interests, the company being required to destroy all timber within the flooded area to create "a trim, clean-cut shoreline." The Parks Branch was also entitled to use the dam for its own power purposes,³⁸ but did not intend that the development of park water resources should become a general policy.

In 1920, the Superintendent of Irrigation submitted a proposal to dam the waters of Upper Waterton Lake for irrigation purposes in southern Alberta. While this scheme,

which would have flooded a large area of the park, was abandoned because of the expense, Commissioner Harkin strenuously opposed such development which violated the original condition of the natural features and wildlife which the park had been created to preserve. Furthermore, he claimed that the national parks, as the property of all the people of Canada, should not be developed for the benefit of any one section of the country.³⁹

Thus, in 1922, the Government refused to allow the Calgary Power Company to carry out further developments on Lake Minnewanka because it would destroy the scenic beauty of the lake which was located close to the tourist center of Banff Park. However, the Company then attempted to secure power rights on the more remote Spray Lakes. This sparked a widely-publicized conflict between preservationists and industrialists which was accentuated when the Alberta Government also made formal application to develop the lakes as a storage basin.

In Parliament, there was considerable support for the power development, particularly from the Opposition who pointed out that the headwaters of many of Alberta's rivers were located in national parks. As Arthur Meighen declared:

I hope every reasonable precaution will be taken to preserve the beauty of the park, but at the same time I hope solid common sense will be used and that especially in those parts of Canada where power is very scarce no rigid rule will be adopted that will shut out the utilization of power merely because it is in a park.⁴⁰

Believing that this development could be undertaken without any gross disfigurement to the area, he sarcastically ridiculed the argument of the preservationists:

Do not harness the power at Spray Lakes because I and many others might like to look at the water falling down there. You should be good enough to do without the very life blood of industry in order that we may have that pleasure.⁴¹

Outside Parliament, however, a good deal of public opinion had been mobilized to oppose the alienation of any park lands, the issue prompting the formation of the Canadian National Parks Association in 1923. The Minister of the Interior reported that he had received strong protests from Canadian Clubs, Boards of Trade, Kiwanis Clubs, and, of course, the Alpine Club. There was also wide-spread editorial comment, such as that in the Manitoba Free Press:

It would seem that the Alberta Government is not persuaded that there is anything in the contention that a national park should be left as such and not be left open to exploitation.

It is presumably not seized with the idea that once a license to violate a public park has been granted no single public park in Canada will be safe from the hands of the commercial exploiter, and that the value to the country of the parks as such will be seriously reduced.

This, we suggest, is the real crux of the matter....⁴²

In the opinion of the Ottawa Journal:

Concession of power rights in the Spray Lakes might bring Alberta a few more industries, but the dangers of once permitting encroachment upon the public domain are so great and so far reaching that the safest way is to refuse at the outset all demands.⁴³

William Pearce, however, who had done so much to acquaint the

Government with the need for conserving the watersheds of Alberta's rivers besides being a major figure in the national parks movement, favoured the Spray Lakes project which would give the area more protection from forest fires:

If we can create in our public reservations anything that will be of public good and at the same time not mar the reservation, it is our duty to do so--and so far as reservoir sites are concerned there is no doubt whatever that that end can be obtained without marring the scenic effects, the reverse will be the result. ...Each project should be investigated and treated on its own merits.⁴⁴

The Government hedged. Since the scenic beauty of the Spray Lakes valley had, in fact, been marred by fire and lumbering operations, the Minister of the Interior was inclined to sanction the proposal subject to protective restrictions, but he recognized such development as being irreconcilable with national park policy. Eventually, it was decided that the most feasible solution would be to withdraw the Spray Lakes from the park, which was subsequently enacted by the National Parks Act of 1930.

The development of the Spray Lakes promised to be a very expensive undertaking, however, with the result that the Lake Minnewanka scheme was revived late in 1929. The suggestion that this area should also be excluded from the park raised a howl of protest from the Canadian National Parks Association, the Alpine Club and Banff residents, but a referendum conducted by the Banff Advisory Council showed that the majority of townspeople were not opposed to the

Calgary Power Company constructing a larger dam on the lake to augment the water resources for their lower dams. Arguing that this project would help ease the unemployment situation, the Company made formal application on September 16, 1930, but the proposal was eventually set aside without any action being taken.⁴⁵

In the mountain park areas, agricultural land was naturally limited, but the Government issued permits for the pasturage of horses and cattle belonging to livery stable owners and dairymen who supplied the needs of park residents.⁴⁶ In 1914 new grazing regulations were issued to alleviate certain problems which had developed under the former policy. In the past, parties wishing to pasture stock had been given renewable permits which practically amounted to leases of occupation; in fact, some permittees had made substantial improvements in an attempt to establish their exclusive right. Under the new system, owners of stock were to be granted uniform privileges in specifically designated areas, being charged a rate of one dollar per head per season.⁴⁷ These provisions were most extensively utilized in Waterton Lakes Park where settlers from the surrounding area grazed several thousand head of cattle a year, the Superintendent regulating the number of permits in accordance with the needs of wildlife and the possible inconvenience to tourists. Applications to graze sheep were refused, however, because their close-cropping habits destroyed the plant life which formed the browse of

cattle and some wildlife.⁴⁸

During the early years in Rocky Mountains Park, the natural hay crop which grew along marshy stretches of the Bow River had been let annually by competition to the highest bidder. Hay permits were later issued for a small fee, park officials also utilizing the marshes to provide feed for animals in the Government paddock. In 1920, in an effort to reduce expenditures, the Parks Branch established small farms in the Rocky Mountains and Waterton Lakes Parks to grow their own feed. Operations in Waterton, where transportation costs made the purchase of fodder very expensive, were particularly successful, over three hundred acres being under cultivation by 1924.

As has been mentioned, one of the reasons for allowing industrial activity in the national parks during the early period of development was the desirability of increasing their revenue. After the establishment of the Parks Branch, however, such enterprises became increasingly regarded as inimical to national park interests. Fortunately, from the park point of view, many proposed industrial ventures died their own natural deaths; had any of these undertakings, such as the "oil boom" in Waterton, proved successful, it is unlikely that the Parks Branch would have been able to prevent large-scale development.

The Spray Lakes controversy, however, revealed the growth of public concern for the protection of park areas.

In an effort to compromise between the advocates of industrialism and those who urged strict preservation, the Government undertook a careful survey of the national parks, regions which had been extensively developed or which promised to be of commercial advantage being withdrawn under the Parks Act of 1930. The argument that industrial development for public benefit should supersede preservation of wilderness continued to have a good deal of influence in certain quarters, however. As a result, constant vigilance is necessary to keep the national parks intact for the enjoyment of future generations.

FOOTNOTES

¹Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Debates, 1887 (Ottawa, 1887), p. 196.

²Ibid., p. 246

³Canada, An Act respecting the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada, 1887, 50-51 Victoria, ch. 32.

⁴Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National Parks Branch, File K31, vol. 1, Special Report, June 22, 1926.

⁵Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of the Deputy Minister," Annual Report, 1887 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1887), p. xvii.

⁶Edward Roper, By Track and Trail: A Journey through Canada (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1891), p. 131.

⁷Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of the Superintendent of Mines," Annual Report, 1891 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1891), Part 1, p. 35.

⁸The abandoned buildings at Anthracite which created an eyesore in the park for many years were eventually torn down in 1915.

⁹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park," Annual Report, 1903-1904 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1904), Part V, p. 10.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 3.

¹¹"Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1905-1906, Part V, p. 11.

¹²By 1909, Bankhead's annual output was 215,000 tons of coal, that of Canmore, 187,000 tons.

¹³The rates for mining coal were adjusted periodically over the years.

¹⁴Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 10 December 1907."

¹⁵Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 11 March 1911."

¹⁶William Spotswood Green, Among the Selkirk Glaciers (London: MacMillan & Co., 1890), p. 240.

¹⁷Douglas Sladen, On the Cars and Off (London: Ward, Lock & Bowden, 1895), p. 279.

¹⁸Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1911-1912, Part V, p. 47.

¹⁹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 15 August 1916."

²⁰Canada, Public Archives, R.B. Bennett Papers, Film No. 32, Letter, Harry Howell to Bennett, February 21, 1928, pp. 39719-39720.

²¹Canada, National Parks Branch, File G2, vol. 1, Letter, E.N. Russell to Harkin, May 28, 1918.

²²Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 20 January 1905."

²³"Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1905-1906, Part V, p. 14.

²⁴Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 6 June 1911."

²⁵Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 22, B, File J32, Letter, Chief Superintendent to Secretary of Interior, Nov. 17, 1911. The Fitzhugh Lime and Stone Company eventually went broke owing to the lack of building operations during the war.

²⁶Canada, Public Archives, RG 22, B, File J32, Memo., September 17, 1931.

²⁷William Rodney, Kootenai Brown: His Life and Times 1839-1906 (Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1969), p. 169.

²⁸Canada, National Parks Branch, File W2, vol. 1, Letter, W.I. Margach to Secretary of Interior, May 4, 1906.

²⁹A total of \$4,050.00 was also paid to Mr. Ross for giving up his timber lease.

³⁰Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Forestry," Annual Report, 1910-1911, Part Vi, p. 7.

³¹Canada, National Parks Branch, File K2, vol. 3, Departmental Memo., August 5, 1926.

³²Canada, National Parks Branch, File W2, vol. 1, Report on Proposed Park, 1909.

³³These rates were adjusted under the new timber regulations passed by Order in Council of August 30, 1915, park residents now being allowed to cut up to twenty-five cords of wood free.

³⁴Canada, Public Archives, RG 22, B, File U3, vol. 5, Departmental Memo., January 13, 1914.

³⁵Canada, Public Archives, RG 22, B, File 200, vol. 1, Letter, J.B. Harkin to W.W. Cory, January 29, 1912.

³⁶Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks," Annual Report, 1920-1921, Part II, p. 30.

³⁷Canada, Public Archives, RG 22, B, File U200, vol. 1, Letter, J.B. Harkin to British Columbia Forest Branch, June 28, 1926.

³⁸"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1911-1912, Part V, p. 8.

³⁹"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1920-1921, Part V, p. 14.

⁴⁰Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1923, vol. 6, p. 3940.

⁴¹Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1925, p. 5009.

⁴²Editorial, Manitoba (Winnipeg) Free Press, Nov. 24, 1926, p. 13.

⁴³Editorial, Ottawa Journal, June 11, 1923, p. 4.

⁴⁴Letter to Editor, Calgary Herald, June 13, 1923.

⁴⁵Canada, National Parks Branch, File U346, vol. 1, Departmental Memo., November 14, 1940.

⁴⁶By 1908, twenty-five applications for grazing leases has been received, seven small ranches being granted.

⁴⁷Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, May 21, 1914."

⁴⁸"Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1920-1921, Part V, p. 7.

CHAPTER VI

NATIONAL PARK POLICY: FOREST AND WILDLIFE PROTECTION

Ostensibly, Canada's mountain national parks had been created to preserve the forests and wildlife of outstanding wilderness areas. However, this aspect of national park policy which today receives primary emphasis was largely neglected in the early years of park development, lack of adequate appropriations making it impossible for even the existing protective regulations to be effectively enforced. But with the growth of the conservation movement during the first decade of the twentieth century particularly, the Government became increasingly aware of the need for forest and wildlife protection. One of the first concerns of the National Parks Branch, formed in 1911, was the creation of an effective park warden service.

The greatest threat to the preservation of park forests was fire. During the last half of the nineteenth century, forest fires appear to have swept through the valleys of most of the park areas, although much natural reforestation was taking place by the time of the actual reservations. In Rocky Mountains Park, Superintendent Stewart early appreciated the necessity of preventing forest fires which endangered not only the park's scenic attractions, but the town of Banff

itself. The park region had, in fact, been much devastated by forest fire, especially during construction of the railway; that it was hardly in a state of natural virgin beauty is evidenced by Stewart's report of 1888:

The want of variety in our foilage has been constantly remarked, and regretted, by our visitors whose admiration for the general beauties of the scenery is unbounded. There are also many places where fire has passed over in former years and left large areas of dead timber giving a desolate appearance to the landscape.

In order to augment forest growth, Professor Saunders, Director of the Experimental Farms in Ottawa, helped to establish a nursery of 40,000 trees at the foot of Cascade Mountain. The Superintendent intended to cultivate all species of shrubs, plants and flowers native to the mountain area, but, by 1890, this project had to be abandoned because experience had shown that the trees were too exposed to strong winds sweeping down the valley which seriously stunted their growth.

In the prevention of forest fires, Stewart appears to have done his best, but all his efforts were really negligible owing to the lack of funds and official interest. Although there was a temporary forest ranger in the park in the very early years, no replacement was appointed after his death in 1890 as his duties were to be assumed by the North West Mounted Police. There being no organized fire-fighting force, the responsibility for combatting fires fell to men on public works, police, railway employees and local residents;

furthermore, no allowance was made in the annual appropriations to meet such emergencies. In 1889, for example, when a serious fire broke out on the hay marshes, only a change in wind direction saved the town of Banff from serious destruction, despite the exertions of all available locals. Yet, at the same time, the Minister of the Interior stated that the danger was not serious enough to prompt extensive government action:

It has been suggested that the Department should further take precautions for the prevention of forest fires. This might be done if the present staff of forest rangers were greatly increased, but the good to be derived from this large additional expense would, I am afraid, not be adequate to the cost involved.²

Stewart advocated the cutting of fire breaks as the most economical means of reducing the fire hazard since this would also give tourists access to points in the park beyond the carriage roads. Small gangs of men were employed to clear up the underbrush and fallen timber, permits also being granted for the collection of firewood and merchantable dead timber. Since sparks from railway locomotives were a primary cause of fire, the CPR was urged to take precautionary measures such as clearing its right of way of all inflammable material. The Superintendent also recommended the exclusion of tramps from the park as "the presence of this class of persons in the park is a menace to its very existence, owing to their carelessness in regard to fires."³

Gradually, the Dominion Government began to take steps

to ensure more adequate forest protection. In fact, in the early 1880's, John A. Macdonald had emphasized:

It is of great importance to the welfare of the Dominion that steps should be taken not only for the protection of the present forests but also for the⁴ planting of forest trees on an extensive scale.

Expanding forestry activities resulted in the creation of a separate Forestry Branch in 1899, whose responsibilities included the preservation of timber in Rocky Mountains Park. The first forestry inspector, E. Stewart, recommended increased clearing of dead brush and timber coupled with the construction of a fireguard around the timber berth of the Eau Claire Lumber Company whose careless logging operations constituted a serious hazard. In 1901, W.A. Brewster was appointed forest ranger although his area of jurisdiction was much too large to be effectively patrolled particularly after the sizeable extension of the park boundaries the following year. Despite daily patrol of the railway track which reduced the number of fires from this quarter, Superintendent Douglas still reported that "at present even with the greatest vigilance, it is impossible to prevent fires from spreading."⁵

Effects of the conservation movement became more noticeable during the latter part of the decade after the passage of the Dominion Forest Reserves Act in 1906. The first Canadian Forestry Convention which examined the main aspects of forestry and the effects of forest conservation on water resources and irrigation was also held the same year.

According to Douglas:

Popular interest, more practical than sentimental, in what ever touches the welfare of the country's forests is growing rapidly, and a hopeful beginning has been made by the Canadian government in real protection for the reservations as well as for all parks.⁶

Significantly the Dominion parks were placed under the jurisdiction of the Forestry Branch in 1908, three forest and game wardens being appointed the next year to patrol Rocky Mountains Park and closely supervise all areas of industrial activity. Furthermore, the new park regulations of 1909 placed much more emphasis on forest protection, requiring extreme care in the lighting of campfires, safeguards on railway engines and other preventive measures.⁷ The Superintendent reported enthusiastically that park residents were beginning to take keen interest in protecting the forests from fire.

The growing concern for the prevention of forest fires was evident in the Government's policy regarding the creation of Jasper Park, a region which had suffered from extensive fires during the late nineteenth century. Significantly, the park was reserved before the actual building of the Grand Trunk Pacific through the area, the primary task of Acting Superintendent McLaggan and his three assistants being to police the park during the railway's construction:

...in spite of the fact that railway construction is being carried on through the entire length of Jasper Park and a large number of men are employed, the park regulations are being well enforced. There has been very little destruction from forest fires, or killing of game or lawlessness.⁸

Wide-spread reforestation was noted in Waterton Lakes National Park which had "once been heavily timbered from the water's edge to the timberline."⁹ Although no railway ran through this park, Superintendent Brown was fully occupied supervising the activities of the numerous campers in the area.

One of the first actions of the Conservation Commission, created in 1909, was to recommend that adequate steps be taken to protect the forests on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, William Pearce and J.S. Dennis of the CPR having long stressed that destruction of timber was reducing the retentive capacity of the watersheds of the rivers supplying the Prairie Provinces. As a result, in 1910, the entire eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains was set aside as a giant forest reserve, encompassing an area of approximately 17,900 square miles which included the three mountain parks of Rocky Mountains, Jasper, and Waterton Lakes.

After the National Parks Branch assumed the responsibility for the protection of the park forests in 1911, park officials continued to co-operate with the Forestry Branch particularly in regard to forest fire prevention, a technical forestry expert being employed by the Head Office in Ottawa. Increased appropriations enabled Commissioner Harkin to greatly enlarge the number of fire and game wardens employed throughout the parks; whereas, formerly, most of the wardens had only been employed during the summer months, their positions now became permanent which was essential for the creation of

an effective force.¹⁰ Over the years, a comprehensive system for patrolling the parks was built up. To minimize cost, the wardens themselves did much of the actual construction on the ever-expanding network of firebreaks, trails, equipment "caches," shelter cabins and lookouts. An important innovation was the introduction of a forest telephone system which proved invaluable in enabling wardens to notify authorities quickly upon sighting fires especially in outlying districts.

Besides instructing wardens in fire-fighting techniques, the Parks Branch also made several important contributions toward the development of improved equipment. Commissioner Harkin claimed that the introduction of a portable gasoline pumping engine in 1915 constituted "the first practical and successful step ever taken to utilize power pumps¹¹ for forest protection.:" Fire-fighters declared this lightweight, high-power engine, which was constantly being improved, to be of such great assistance that it was eventually adopted by practically all organizations engaged in forest protection work in Canada. The Branch also experimented with different types of fire-extinguishing chemicals, developing a mixture known as Pyrox which not only promised to be an excellent¹² fire quencher but could be cheaply manufactured.

New advances in technology meant a steady improvement in methods of fire fighting. In 1924, the Canadian Forestry Association held two conferences on the means of combatting forest fires during which the use of aircraft,

radio and telecommunications for detecting and fighting fires
was discussed.¹³ Landing sites had earlier been selected for
the proposed air patrol of Kootenay and Rocky Mountains Parks.

Because many forest fires were caused by ignorance or carelessness, in 1915, the Parks Branch inaugurated an educational campaign designed to develop a sense of public responsibility toward forest protection. In addition to posting notices carrying a joint warning and appeal for the prevention of fires throughout the parks and in all public places, officials had reminders printed on the park stationery, car stickers, and articles likely to be used in the woods such as matchboxes and axes. A popular souvenir issued in connection with the campaign in 1920 was a small aluminum good luck charm called "Buffalo Medicine" enclosed in a paper facsimile of an Indian pouch accompanied by a leaflet telling the Indian legend which emphasized the need for forest protection.

As a result of this campaign, improved fire-fighting equipment, and the vigilance of the wardens, the national parks
escaped much serious destruction.¹⁴ During the hot, dry summers of 1925 and 1926, however, park areas suffered from some of the worst fires in their history. Emergency appropriations were required to fight many serious lightning fires in 1926 which caused extensive damage particularly in Yoho and Kootenay Parks. In Kootenay Park, despite the efforts of all available men and equipment, one fire lasted about six weeks burning over
four miles in the vicinity of the highway.¹⁵

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF FOREST FIRES IN MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARKS
1920-1921 TO 1930-1931, BY SELECTED YEARS*

Park	1919-1920		1925-1926		1930-1931	
	No. of Fires	Acres Burned	No. of Fires	Acres Burned	No. of Fires	Acres Burned
Banff.....	34	3,721	34	693	50	61
Galcier.....	6	1,682	10	2,092	1	242
Jasper.....	47	97	45	27,670	6	50
Kootenay.....	1	-	10	52	4	-
Mount Revelstoke	-	-	8	8,801	10	491
Waterton Lakes .	1	-	2	40	10	5
Yoho	5	503	7	10	8	6
Total.....	94	6,003	116	39,358	89	855

*Most forest fires were caused by railway engines, campers, smokers,
or lightning.

As early as 1881, the well-known mountain guide Tom Wilson had noted the increasing scarcity of game in the mountain area. W.F. Whitcher, sent by the Government to investigate wildlife conditions in Rocky Mountains Park in 1886, corroborated this observation:

Large game and fish, once various and plentiful in this mountain region, are now scattered and comparatively scarce. Skin-hunters, dynamiters and netters, with Indians, wolves and foxes, have committed sad havoc. The rapid settlement now progressing in the vicinity will add other elements of destruction.¹⁶

In his report, Whitcher made numerous recommendations for the preservation and propagation of fish, game, and fowl, but lack of appropriations meant that implementation of his suggestions was slow. However, his plan for the sewing of wild rice along the borders of Lake Minnewanka and the Vermilion Lakes to provide food and concealment for aquatic fowl was carried out in 1887. To foster the increase of game animals, he also recommended a policy of predator extermination which was subsequently enacted with vigour.

Although hunting and fishing for commercial purpose was to be strictly prohibited, Whitcher was disposed to allow limited hunting for sport under licence in the park:

I think it inadvisable to deny rational freedom in this particular within the boundaries of the Canadian reservation, because it is quite controllable and will remove every appearance of exclusive preservation from the protective measures to be rigidly enforced.¹⁷

Under the general park regulations of 1890, however, all hunting was prohibited except of mountain lions, bears, wolves,

lynxes, wolverines, coyotes and hawks. Yet Banff, and later Jasper, continued to serve as outfitting centers for numerous hunting parties travelling to regions outside the parks.

During the early period of development, park officials were concerned to increase the parks' attractions for sportsmen which paradoxically prompted their attempts at game preservation. In 1894, Superintendent Stewart began advocating an extension of the limits of Rocky Mountains Park to create a game reservation in which the only development would be the cutting of bridle paths. His successor Douglas strenuously urged this action, arguing that fishing regulations could not be effectively enforced if only portions of a stream were within the park and that "at present any person can get beyond the park limits within an hour's walk, and commit any offense against park regulations without hindrance except to the general laws of the country which are not adapted to the requirements of the park."¹⁸ Thus in 1902, the boundaries of the park were extended to encompass the watershed of the Bow River and its tributaries.

With no organized warden service, however, it proved impossible to enforce game regulations throughout this large area. Park officials, expressing great concern over the depredations of the Indians, recommended their exclusion from the park; if this meant depriving reserve Indians of part of their food supply, a corresponding increase should be made in their allowance from the Government. But as officials were

reluctant to impose hardships upon the Indians, the problem persisted. William Brewster, among others, decried the wanton slaughter:

We allow our Indians to slaughter indiscriminately in our vast park of six thousand square miles..... the depredations committed by the aborigines and others are almost unbelievable. I myself have seen as many as sixteen heads of wild animals in one Indian tepee, and this is quite an ordinary case.¹⁹

The appointment of temporary game wardens during the summer months had not proved effective, nor were the services of the first permanent game guardian appointed in 1907.

Superintendent Douglas became so alarmed over the situation that he drew up a proposal for more stringent regulations to curb illegal killing of game. Finally appreciating the complete incompatibility of industrial activity with the preservation of wildlife, he recommended that no further mining or timber leases should be granted in the park because large camps of men invariably led to trapping, snaring and other breaches of the protection laws.²⁰ Most of his other suggestions were embodied in the new park regulations of 1909: all firearms carried in the park, except by duly authorized wardens, were to be sealed, the head guide of a hunting party being responsible for the resealing of all guns upon reentering the park. Furthermore, game wardens, to be appointed under oath by the Minister of the Interior, were empowered to search the premises of any person suspected of illegally possessing fish or game and confiscate the same, three

permanent game and fire wardens being subsequently appointed.²¹

New protective measures, particularly those which prohibited dogs from running at large anywhere in the park,²² appear to have resulted in almost immediate benefits. The Superintendent reported that "game in the park has greatly increased and the animals are coming closer to the village of Banff and the paths of the tourists, and are less timid,"²³ but he emphasized that the number of wardens employed to patrol the large park area was still pitifully inadequate:

The proper protection of our large numbers of some of the very best game in North America will always be a matter of considerable trouble ...until the means are placed in our hands to have a staff of sufficient strength to keep a careful and systematic watch over the main trails.²⁴

Although the difficulty of effectively patrolling the large park areas was a primary reason for their reduction in 1911, this action provoked widespread protest because it excluded major game breeding areas, particularly in Waterton Lakes and Jasper, from national park protection. After the creation of the Parks Branch, however, the park regions were again enlarged, increased appropriations permitting the creation of an efficient game protection service.

In fact, the National Parks Branch became actively involved in the conservation of wildlife: in addition to the game preserves of the national parks,²⁵ it administered the Migratory Birds Act, which provided for the establishment of breeding sanctuaries for birds common to both Canada and the

United States, and the North West Game Act, which was concerned with the protection of fur-bearing animals and caribou in the North. A fundamental purpose of national parks, Harkin emphasized, was to act as "the natural history schools of Canada, and ultimately, as civilization encroaches more and more upon the wilderness, the parks will probably be the only places where the native fauna and flora will be found in a natural state."²⁶ Furthermore, wildlife formed an intrinsic part of the primitive landscape which rendered the parks so valuable for recreational purposes. In 1919, the Commissioner helped to organize the first conference on wildlife protection, held under the auspices of the Conservation Commission and the Advisory Board on Wild Life Protection, which laid the basis for better co-operation between the provinces and the federal government in this area.

The same year, adjustments were made in the Dominion park game regulations which were now applied to the mountain parks of British Columbia. Among the new provisions were the exclusions of cats from the parks as they had proved very injurious to bird life and the destruction of dogs caught chasing game, the penalty for a violation of these regulations being raised to a maximum fine of \$500.00 or six months imprisonment.²⁷

The Government's protectionist policy proved a notable success primarily because of the effective work of the park wardens, particularly in enforcing regulations. In 1916, for

example, a well-known Banff guide and outfitter was fined \$100.00 and had his licence temporarily revoked for the illegally killing Rocky Mountain sheep.²⁸ The Commissioner reported with satisfaction that big game animals such as deer, moose, mountain goats and mountain sheep, near extinction in some areas, had made an amazing comeback, large numbers being found throughout the park regions.²⁹ Furthermore, the several hundred head of elk imported from Yellowstone National Park appeared to be rapidly increasing in their new environment in Banff and Jasper Parks. Bear had become so exceedingly numerous and tame that a number had had to be destroyed owing to the nuisance they caused. A gratifying increase was also noted in beaver and other fur-bearing animals, particularly in Jasper Park. The unique wildlife feature in Mount Revelstoke Park was the abundant flocks of game birds such as blue grouse and partridge, the paucity of bird life having been noted in several of the other parks.

Paradoxically, the success of park protection contributed to the enjoyment of big game hunters owing to the overflow of game into regions adjacent to the park boundaries. By 1919, the Southesk river country on the eastern edge of Jasper Park was well stocked with big-horn sheep, most hunting parties procuring their full legal quota of this prized animal; reports of better hunting also came from areas adjacent to Yoho and Kootenay Parks. Commissioner Harkin favoured this development:

...one of our arguments in connection with our game sanctuaries is that we maintain a supply of big game for the outlying areas, in the over-flow from the parks. I think big game hunting should be encouraged. It is a source of considerable revenue to the country and a sport which is highly enjoyed by some of our very best people.³⁰

In fact, when the boundaries of Jasper Park were extended in 1927, representations from guides and outfitters resulted in the postponement of the enforcing of game regulations for one year in the new extension because numerous hunting parties had already been scheduled for this area.³¹

The increase in wildlife also led to reconsideration of the policy of predator extermination which had been vigorously enacted in all parks.³² Having realized that this policy was upsetting the essential balance of nature, Harkin reported in 1924:

...in order to make the National Parks...represent so far as possible normal wildlife conditions, the superintendents have been instructed to proceed with caution in controlling various forms of wildlife usually considered destructive. Superintendents have full authority to control predatory animals that are damaging property, but no whole-sale campaign against any mammal merely because it has utilized some other wildlife in maintaining itself will be undertaken.³³

Although predator control continued, it was restricted to a few specified creatures such as wolves and coyotes.

The national parks, particularly Waterton Lakes, soon acquired a wide reputation as an angler's paradise. Although fishing was restricted to rod and line for sport only, the initial lack of quota restrictions resulted in the depletion of many lakes and streams. The need for more protection

in the Waterton Lakes area, for example, was urgent:

Farmers come long distances from the prairie in the fall and fish, and are so unmindful of their interests as to catch more than they can use, or to persevere in fishing on certain streams, until now every trout stream tributary to the Kootenay [Waterton] Lakes has been entirely fished out.³⁴

The general regulations of 1909 provided for more stringent control, instituting a seasonal limitation, a quota restriction of fifteen fish per day (none to be under seven inches long), and mandatory fishing licences.³⁵

To maintain park waters, officials began restocking lakes and streams, a policy originally recommended by W.F. Whitcher who had suggested that Banff would be an ideal location for a fish hatchery. It was not until 1913, however, that the Department of Marine and Fisheries actually established a hatchery at Banff, the CPR having made initial attempts to stock the heavily-fished waters of Rocky Mountains Park. After the erection of a well-equipped fish hatchery, an increasing number of fry were distributed in the lakes and rivers of the parks: according to the statistics of 1928, for example, 5,550,000 rainbow, 4,577,000 Lock Leven, 1,110,000 cut-throat and 319,670 brown trout fry were liberated principally in the waters of Banff and Yoho Parks.³⁶ An auxiliary hatchery had been erected at the Spray Lakes in 1916, small hatcheries later being established in both Waterton Lakes and Jasper Parks to eliminate the difficulties of transporting fry from the Banff hatchery. In Waterton Lakes Park, American authorities assisted in the stocking of lakes and streams also common to Glacier Park.

Another venture undertaken in Rocky Mountains Park not only contributed to the conservation of wildlife but proved to be a popular tourist attraction. In 1897 a buffalo bull and two cows were given to the park by T.G. Blackstock of Toronto to which thirteen more head from Lord Strathcona's herd were added the next year. These two donations formed the nucleus of a buffalo herd which was housed in a special 500-acre paddock located one and a half miles east of Banff. Over the years, several other species native to the area were added as well as some non-indigenous animals such as the six yak which the Duke of Bedford presented to the Dominion in 1912.³⁷

On the whole, the animals seemed to thrive, the project soon expanding into a regular zoo. It eventually became necessary to provide more suitable and permanent quarters for caged animals such as bears, lynx and timber wolves, the new cages located on the museum grounds which were opened in 1907 being declared the finest in any park on the continent for their size.³⁸ Among the principal attractions of the zoo, which contained several foreign species such as Rhesus monkeys, was "Pat" the polar bear in his spacious plunge bath. In 1904, an aviary had been established on the museum grounds. As Mr. Whitcher had suggested that quail and pheasant should be introduced into the park, the original intention appears to have been to raise game birds with which to stock the park. Although this aspect of the project never materialized, the aviary, which housed various examples of Canadian bird life,

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF ANIMALS IN BUFFALO PADDOCK
1903 TO 1930, BY SELECTED YEARS

Animals	1903	1911	1917	1925	1930
Buffalo.....	40	24	13	22	22
Elk.....	8	14	95	15	25
Moose.....	4	19	10	-	-
Mountain sheep.....	-	2	16	14	10
Four-horned sheep....	-	-	23	14	9
Mountain goats.....	-	1	18	5	7
White tail deer.....	-	3	3	-	-
Mule deer.....	-	9	11	-	-
Antelope.....	-	4	-	-	-
Angora goats.....	14	9	18	10	7
Persian sheep.....	-	4	6	1	-
Zulu sheep.....	-	3	-	-	-
Yak.....	-	-	16	7	5

proved a popular feature of the park in connection with the zoo.

In 1907, Howard Douglas was sent by the Canadian Government to negotiate the purchase of the last large buffalo herd on the American continent which belonged to Michel Pablo of Montana. In spite of American protests, his efforts were successful, Buffalo National Park near Wainwright, Alberta being specially created to accommodate the animals. When the herd at Banff became too large, most of the buffalo were transferred to this park, about twenty-five head being retained at Banff for "to the majority of the visitors the town of Banff always suggests buffalo, and as they are one of our chief drawing cards too much cannot be done to give those we have here every assistance to thrive."³⁹

Thus by 1930, the concept of national parks as forest and wildlife preserves had definitely been recognized. The value of the preservation of wilderness conditions received increasing emphasis:

The preservation of wildlife and wildlife habitat means also the preservation of the basic resources of the earth, which men, as well as animals, must have in order to live. Wildlife, water, forests, grasslands--all are parts of man's essential environment; the conservation and effective use of one is impossible except as others are also conserved.⁴⁰

FOOTNOTES

¹Canada, Department of the Interior, "Report of Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park," Annual Report, 1888 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1888), Part V, p. 6.

²Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Deputy Minister," Annual Report, 1889 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889), p. xviii.

³Ibid., p. xxi.

⁴Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 15, B-1a, File 62441, Memo to Privy Council, February 21, 1883.

⁵Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1904-1905, Part V, p. 17.

⁶Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1906-1907, Part V, p. 4.

⁷Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 21 June 1909."

⁸Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1910-1911, Part V, p. 10.

⁹Canada, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National Parks Branch, File W2, vol. 1, Report on Proposed National Park, 1909.

¹⁰The number of wardens varied with the size of each park, it being considered that approximately 100 miles was the maximum area which one man could adequately supervise.

¹¹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks," Annual Report, 1915-1916 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1916), Part V, p. 7.

¹²Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1919-1920, Part V, p. 6.

¹³Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, "Historical Perspective on the 'Resources for Tomorrow' Conference," by F.J. Thorpe (Ottawa, 1961), p. 7.

¹⁴Owing to a jurisdictional conflict, the mountain parks of British Columbia were not actually protected by Dominion regulations and staff until after the provincial-federal agreement of 1919.

¹⁵Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1926-1927, Part III, p. 93.

¹⁶Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report," by W.F. Whitcher, Annual Report, 1886, Part I, p. 86.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁸Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1900, Part IV, p. 8.

¹⁹Canada, Public Archives, Record Group 22, B, File 562966, Clipping from Montreal Star, January 7, 1909.

²⁰Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1906-1907, Part V, p. 11.

²¹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 21 June 1909."

²²This regulation evoked considerable protest from park residents and was not very effectively enforced. In 1924, dogs were permitted to run unleashed in the townsites, but difficulties still persisted.

²³Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1910-1911, Part V, p. 4.

²⁴Ibid., p. 15.

²⁵The mountain national parks were not the most important game preserves. During this period, parks were created specifically for the preservation of antelope and buffalo in Alberta, while Point Pelee National Park in Ontario was primarily a bird sanctuary.

²⁶Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1914-1915, Part V, p. 6.

²⁷Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 1 December 1919."

²⁸Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1916-1917, Part V, p. 20.

²⁹In 1930, it was estimated that in Rocky Mountains Park there were approximately 3,000 deer, 150 moose, 2,000 Rocky Mountain goats and 4,000 big-horn sheep; while in Jasper Park there were 22,000 deer, 10,000 moose, 7,000 mountain goats and 20,000 big-horn sheep.

³⁰Canada, Public Archives, RG 22, B, File U3-1, vol. 1, Letter, Harkin to Yoho Park Superintendent, April 28, 1925.

³¹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Order in Council, 24 June 1927."

³²In 1920-1921 in Jasper Park, for example, wardens destroyed 2 timber wolves, 32 coyotes, 2 wolverines, and numerous crows, hawks, and pack rats.

³³Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1924-1925, Part V, p. 95.

³⁴Canada, National Parks Branch, File W2, vol. 1, Report on Proposed Park, 1909.

³⁵Fishing regulations were tightened up during the 1920's, daily quotas being reduced and the fishing season shortened.

³⁶Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Commissioner," Annual Report, 1928-1929, Part IV, p. 107.

³⁷See Table IX, p. 165. The fluctuation in numbers is due to the fact that some of the animals were sent to various zoos while others were liberated when their numbers became too large to be accommodated in the enclosure.

³⁸Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1907-1908, Part V, p. 8.

³⁹Canada, Dept. of Interior, "Report of Superintendent," Annual Report, 1909-1910, Part V, p. 8.

⁴⁰John Ise, Our National Park Policy: A Critical History (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1961), p. 578.

CONCLUSION

The year 1930 is an appropriate place at which to terminate this discussion of national park policy because the passage of the National Parks Act not only climaxed the early period of park history but provided a foundation for future development. After the establishment of the National Parks Branch in 1911, the parks system expanded rapidly, Commissioner Harkin being largely responsible for the formulation of the basic principles of park policy.

Harkin maintained that the main purpose of the national parks was to enable Canadians to enjoy the healthiest, most uplifting of all pastimes--recreation in the sublime setting of mountain wilderness. To achieve this result the preservation of the natural conditions of forest and wildlife was essential, the concept of the parks as reserves of "original Canada" receiving increasing emphasis. But as the "Father of Tourist Travel",¹ Harkin also realized that the parks' tremendous commercial potential as prime tourist attractions formed one of the most forceful arguments for their existence. Quick to seize upon the possibilities of motor travel in this connection, he can be given credit for being one of the initial promoters of the magnificent system of highways which today traverse our mountain parks.

To the Commissioner, the realization of the two major tenets of national park policy seemed perfectly compatible: he could not then foresee that to maintain and use the parks for the "benefit, education, and enjoyment of the people of Canada" and yet "leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" would ultimately become a contradiction. While officials during the 1920's were gratified that the annual number of tourists to the mountain parks had reached several hundred thousand, park planners today regard the annual visit of millions of people as a definite threat to the preservation of the parks as wilderness areas. How to preserve the national parks and still provide the facilities necessary to accommodate vast hordes of tourists is the dilemma which faces administrators today.

Even by 1930, however, a trend toward commercialization could be noted particularly in the parks of Banff and Jasper: the construction of tourist accommodation and the provision of recreational facilities had been actively encouraged. Although problems resulting from federal administration of the park townsites, particularly the vexing lease question, were legacies from an earlier period, the Harkin administration was unable to find any permanent solution to these difficulties.

Since 1930, the official policy of the National Parks Branch has increasingly emphasized the concept of the parks as preserves of the original Canadian landscape. However, previous administrative decisions, such as the granting of

long-term, renewable leases which has almost amounted to a freehold system, have reduced the Government's efficiency in enacting its policy. In an attempt to re-establish the exclusive control which had originally been intended, the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Arthur Laing, announced the formulation of a new national park policy in 1964, placing primary emphasis on the wilderness concept:

National Parks are not conventional parks or ordinary areas for outdoor recreation, but very special areas in which the finest examples of scenic beauty and natural wonders, both living and inanimate, are kept in their natural state for people to see and marvel at, and to gain that mixed experience of understanding and inspiration that comes when one is confronted with a physical expression of the finest natural scene.²

The new policy has provoked sharp criticism from various quarters: commercial developers stress the need for increased accommodation and recreational facilities particularly for winter sports, while certain industrial interests advocate the utilization of the parks' natural resources. The most unpopular aspect of the new policy, however, has been the Government's decision to cancel the perpetual clauses of the leases since private holdings in the parks are now regarded as inimical to national park purposes. Upon the expiry of the forty-two year leases, all land will revert to the Crown, but only residential owners will receive compensation for their improvements. Park residents particularly in Banff and Jasper, who are opposing the new leasing policy, have suggested that the townsites should be removed from federal jurisdiction;

but as yet, the present controversy, which becomes very complicated in all its ramifications and long-term implications, remains unsolved. Perhaps complete government ownership and operations will ultimately prove to be the most feasible solution; if not, residents will have to learn to accept the "hardships" imposed by the peculiarities of living in a park townsite. After all, since residence in the parks is voluntary, local interests should not be allowed to supersede the broad aims of national park policy.

To alleviate the problems caused by heavy visitor usage, the National Parks Branch is now considering the implementation of a policy of zoning for which large parks such as Banff and Jasper are fortunately well adapted. According to one noted authority, the national parks today should serve the needs of three types of people: the tourist desiring a relaxing, comfortable holiday in a natural environment, the nature-lover looking for instruction and inspiration by probing the wilderness a little more profoundly, and the scientist wishing to study ecological relationships in "outdoor laboratories". Accordingly the parks are to be zoned into three corresponding areas: the townsites and their immediate environs will be the most highly developed, providing the tourist with accommodation and other facilities; the next or intermediate zone will contain limited developments such as trails and campgrounds; but the last and most remote area, to be reserved for study and investigation, will be left completely undeveloped.

While it is impossible to predict what the eventual outcome of the present controversy surrounding Canada's national park policy will be, certainly the Government's attempts to preserve the wilderness virtues of the parks and to restrict excessive commercialization should be supported. If this policy is successful, the spectacular mountain parks of Western Canada will remain one of our country's greatest natural treasures.

FOOTNOTES

¹Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, National Parks Branch, The Origin and Meaning of the National Parks of Canada (Vancouver: H.R. Larson, 1957), p. 2.

²Richard Carrington, Great National Parks of the World (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 25.

³Ibid., p. 16.



Department of Interior

Fig. 1.--Banff Avenue, 1914



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 2.--Office of Superintendent
and Museum Rocky Mountains
Park, 1903



Public Archives of Canada

Fig. 3.--The Basin, Banff Hot Springs, c. 1900



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 4.--Buildings at Upper Hot Springs
Rocky Mountains Park, 1905



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 5.--Banff Springs Hotel, 1903



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 6.--CPR Golf Course at Banff, 1912



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 7.--Animal Cage, Banff Zoo, 1913



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 8.--Buffalo in Banff Paddock, 1903



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 9.--Calgary Power Dam on Lake Minnewanka, 1912



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 10.--Exshaw Cement Works, Rocky
Mountains Park, 1908



Public Archives

Fig. 11.--The Chalet, Lake Louise, c. 1915



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 12.--Alpine Club, Consolation Lakes Camp,
Rocky Mountains Park, 1910



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 13--Cascade River on Road to
Lake Minnewanka, 1903



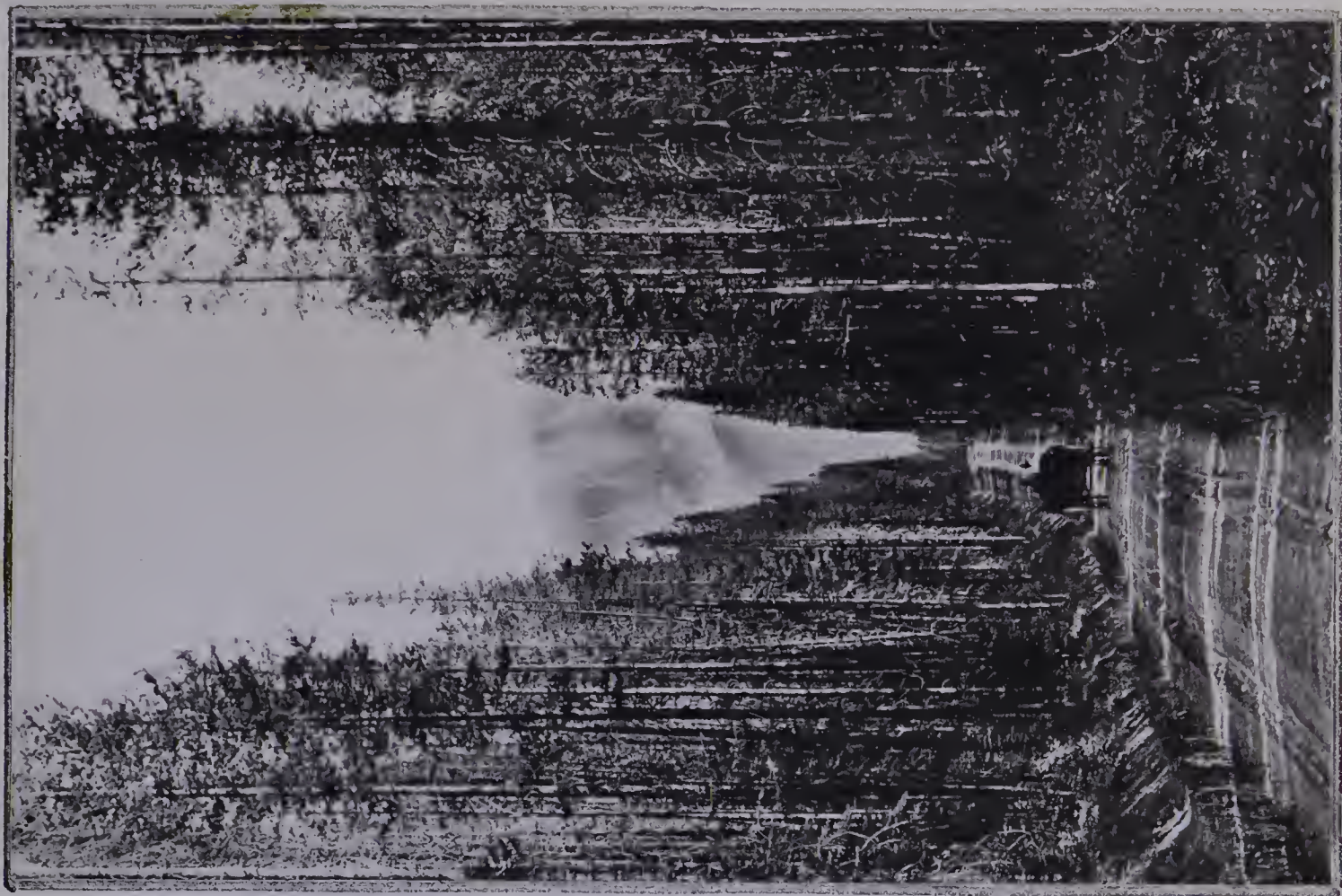
Yvonne Fitzroy

Fig. 14.--Banff-Windermere Highway
Kootenay National Park, 1928



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 15.--Field Townsite, Yoho
National Park, 1912



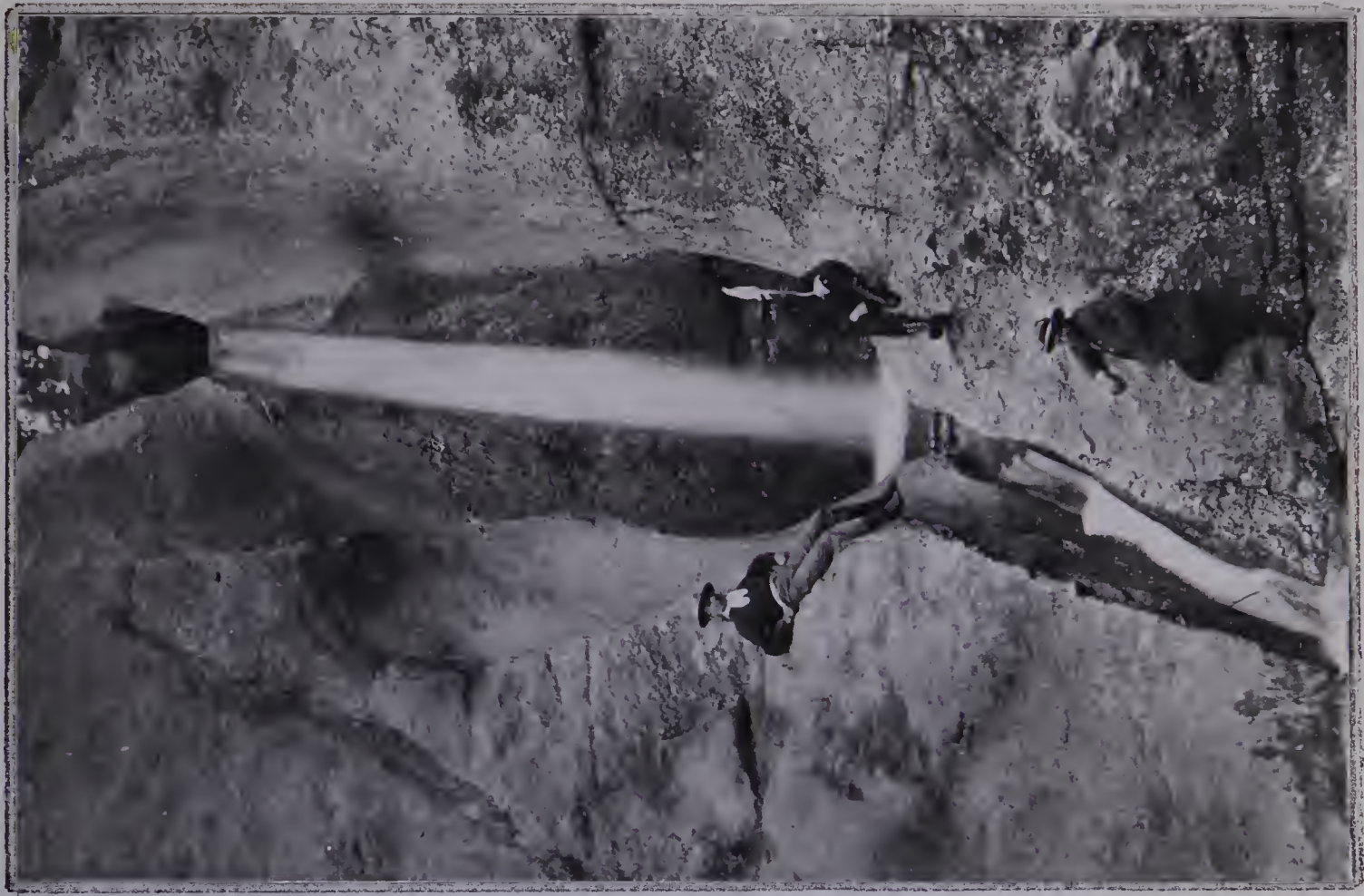
Dept. of Interior

Fig. 16.--Road to Emerald Lake,
Yoho National Park, 1913



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 17.--Switchback to Takakkaw Falls,
Yoho National Park, 1913



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 18.--Punch Bowl Falls near
Jasper Park Collection



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 19.--Jasper Townsite, 1914



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 20.--Old Administration Buildings,
Jasper National Park, 1912



Public Archives

Fig. 21.--Tent City, Lac Beauvert,
Jasper National Park, 1915



Public Archives

Fig. 22.--Cottages at Jasper Park Lodge, 1927



Public Archives

Fig. 23.--Glacier House and Station,
Glacier National Park, c. 1912



Glenbow Foundation

Fig. 24.--Prince of Wales Hotel,
Waterton Lakes National Park, 1928



Dept. of Interior

Fig. 25.--Cameron Creek Falls,
Waterton Lakes Park, 1911



Glenbow Foundation

Fig. 26.--Oil City, Waterton Lakes Park, 1902

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